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AUTHOR:

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TITLE:

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Grieve, Lucia Catherine Graeme, 1862-

Death and burial in Attic tragedy. Part I. Death and
the dead ... New York, 1898.

83 p. 24¹/₂ cm.

Thesis (Ph. D.)—Columbia university.
Vita.

Bibliography: p. 10-12.

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L378.7CX0 Another copy. 1898.

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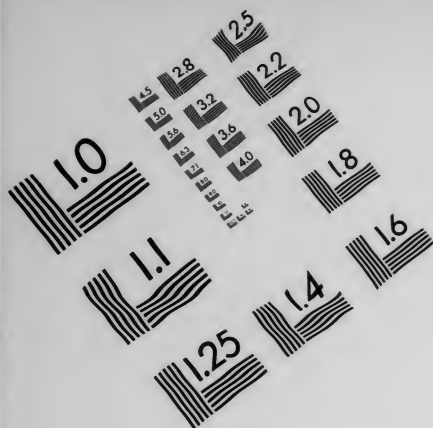
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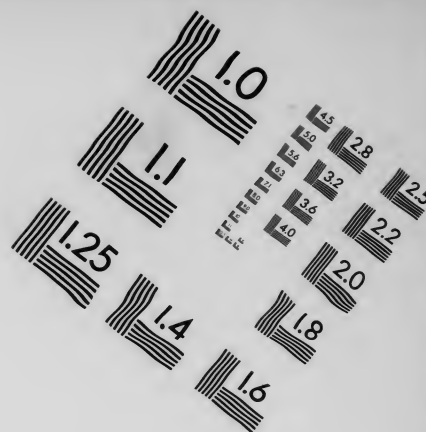
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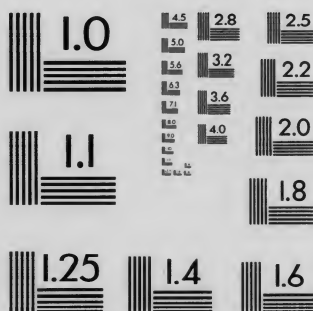
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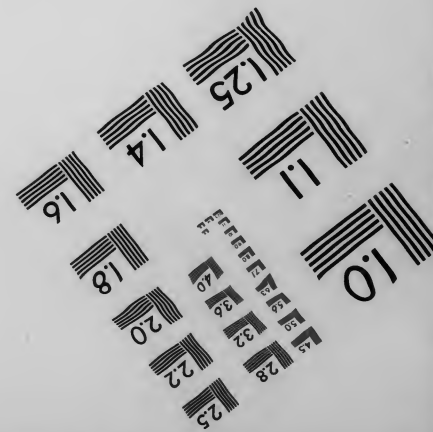
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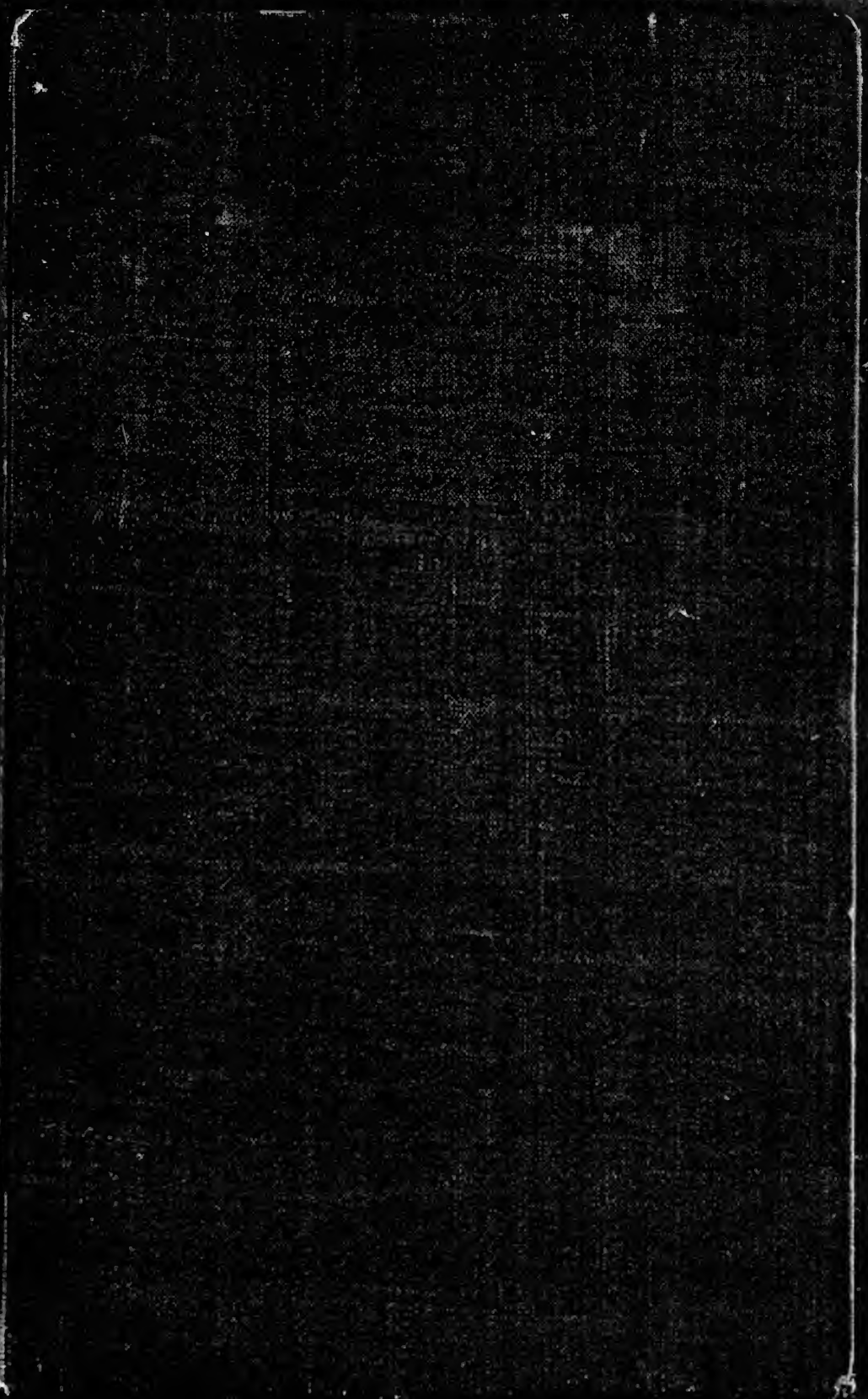


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DEATH AND BURIAL IN ATTIC TRAGEDY

PART I

DEATH AND THE DEAD

BY

LUCIA CATHERINE GRAEME GRIEVE, A.M.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN THE

FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK

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INTRODUCTION

ANCIENT Greek life was divided into so many small separate streams, and developed so rapidly towards both its perfection and its decay, that very few statements can be true either of the whole people or of the whole period. While undoubtedly many customs survived through centuries, at the same time fashions changed from generation to generation in even the most important points; the contact with outside nations, the introduction of foreign religions, and the experience of new forms of government, radically and continually affected thought and life throughout the entire nation. Besides, though homogeneous in race, and to a certain extent in language, the Greeks were far from being so in any other respect. In the separate states, the development was remarkably uneven, individualism was the most striking characteristic, and every city and hamlet prided itself on legends and practices peculiarly its own.

The study of Greek life, to be properly understood, should be taken up country by country and period by period. Heretofore this has not been possible; now, with the multitudes of inscriptions of all sorts coming daily to the surface, with the works of long-lost authors, vases and gems, temples and palaces, perpetually unearthed, we may hope ultimately for a fairly intelligible reconstruction of the daily life and feeling of that great race to whom we owe the best of our culture and the greater part of our civilization.

In the following pages I have attempted to touch but one phase of that multitudinous life, the ideas regarding death, in but one city and age, the Vth century at Athens. Convinced that the later writers, like Lucian, were not to be depended

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NOTE.—In the first list given above all the chief authorities cited in the following pages are included, and they are referred to by the authors' names. Where reference is made to other books, the whole title is given. When fragments of the Tragedians are cited, A. stands for Aeschylus, S. for Sophocles, and E. for Euripides.

CHAPTER I

VIEWS REGARDING DEATH

EVER since the advent of the human race, the law of death has held with inexorable force. The short-lived generations of men have flourished and faded, like the leaves from the trees:¹

οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,

and gone—whither the leaves go—who could tell? For some such reason there has always been a keen sympathy between human life and nature, especially in her vegetable forms; and among the Greeks this feeling was unusually intense. Plant-life was a continual parable of death and resurrection; and it is a significant fact that Demeter, goddess of the grain, and Dionysus,² god of the vine, were the two divinities of the upper earth most closely connected with the dead.

It is as the result of long experience in watching the growth, decay, and resurrection of plants, confirming native intuition, that we must regard the instinctive belief in the continued existence of the soul. For it is impossible for philosophy to prove such after-existence. Plato tried to do so in his immortal treatise, the *Phaedo*, and failed utterly. For however cogent his arguments may be to those who wish to believe, at the cold touch of unprejudiced reason they collapse utterly. He has to fall back on popular superstition and the teaching of the poets.

It is not when a nation has reached its highest point of culture that we must look for active belief, but rather at some

¹ *Il.*, 6: 146. For souls compared to leaves, see *Bacchyl.*, V., 63-7.

² *Dyer*: *Gods in Greece*. See refs. s. v. Dionysus, p. 434.

period in its earlier history, when it is shaking off the trammels of barbarism and projecting its vague notions on a background of conscious thought. Such a time was the Vth century B. C., at Athens. When, in the battle of Marathon,¹ she struck the decisive blow for the freedom of Europe from the oppression of Asia, at that same time she drew a distinct line of demarcation between her present and her past. Before that she was but a small state among the many which, without unity or coherence, fringed the south coast of Europe; from that moment she became a leader and head, not merely of the brief political Athenian empire, but of the great empire of thought that finally conquered even Rome.

In the burial customs and beliefs, the most stable of all institutions, great changes had come about. Yet in the Vth century we find the traces, though then almost imperceptible, of an earlier stage of dark demon-worship. The present school of folklore-writers would have us believe the latter was the original and only early stage of every nation's development; but their arguments are far from convincing. What came earlier than this, in Athens at least, has not yet been discovered. Pausanias found curious customs prevailing in odd corners of Hellas, that seemed to have come down from primitive times; and the earlier Spartan tombstones present forms and figures which must have been survivals even when they were erected.

Whenever a custom shows a tendency to become fixed, we may know that the real presence of the belief is vanishing; while change and variety denote life and growth. The Periclean Age presents many examples of both these truths, nowhere more evident than in those burial practices, which continuing, though full of contradictions, to survive for many centuries, Lucian ridiculed with so much wit.

But to Aeschylus and his fellow-tragedians they were still

¹ See Creasy's *Fifteen Decisive Battles*.

alive with meaning. To them the funeral wail, the solemn procession, the stone-marked tomb, the prayers and offerings to the deceased, were not an idle and empty show, of no benefit to the dead or to the living. Rather, the darkness of death was a thick darkness which could be felt, the stifling shadow of the tomb, the damp gloom of the vault, the keen cold wind of the sightless cavern. The lower world was a place deprived of light;² *νύκτερος*,³ *ἀνάγνητος*,⁴ *ἀνάλιος*,⁴ *σκότος*,⁵ *μέλας*,⁶ *κέλαινος*,⁷ *ζόφος*,⁸ *κνεφαίος*,⁹ *ἐρεβος*,¹⁰ and death a darkness on the eyes.¹¹ To view the light was to live;¹² to see the light no more, to die.¹³ This to be sure was a very materialistic view; but it is only in a dead faith that we can draw the line sharply between the material and the spiritual. With their natural love of life and light and activity—a feeling strikingly strong among the Greeks¹⁴—they feared and dreaded death, not only as something dark and therefore joyless,¹⁵ but because of its silence and inertness, where a man was,¹⁶

οὐ χερὸς, οὐ ποδός, οὐ φρενὸς ἄρχων,

sleeping that still cold breathless sleep,¹⁷ *τὸν ἀεὶ . . . ἀτέλευτον ὕπνον,*

¹ *Ag.*, 1323-24; *Ant.*, 808-9; *Phil.*, 624-5; *Trach.*, 1144; *Hec.*, 707; *Her.*, 969; *I. A.*, 1509; *et al.* oft.

² *Hip.*, 1388; *Or.*, 1225. ³ *Pro.*, 1128. ⁴ *Alc.*, 437, 852; *H. M.*, 607.

⁵ *Ai.*, 394; *O. C.*, 1701; *Hec.*, 209; *Phoen.*, 1453; *Hip.*, 837; *H. M.*, 563.

⁶ *Hip.*, 1388. ⁷ *Pro.*, 433. ⁸ *Per.*, 839; *Hip.*, 1416. ⁹ *Pro.*, 1129; *Hip.*, 836.

¹⁰ *O. C.*, 1390; *Ai.*, 395; *Hel.*, 519; *Ant.*, 589; *Or.*, 176.

¹¹ *Sep.*, 403; *Alc.*, 385, 269; *Hip.*, 1444. See also *Bacchyl.* XIII, 30-1.

¹² *Alc.*, 82, 272, 362; *Hip.*, 1193; *et al.* oft.

¹³ *Trach.*, 829; *Alc.*, 18, 868, 394-5; *et al.* oft.

¹⁴ *Alc.*, 301; *Soph. fr.*, 64; *Eur. fr.*, 446; *et al.* oft. *Eur.* makes the nurse explain why, *Hip.*, 193-7; and gives a warning, *fr.*, 813, ll. 6-11; *I. A.*, 1385-6.

¹⁵ *Or.*, 1084; *et al.*

¹⁶ *Phil.*, 860-1; *Alc.*, 404; *Per.*, 840-2; *Trach.*, 829-30, 1169-73; *O. T.*, 967-8.

¹⁷ *Ag.*, 1450-1; *Trach.*, 1005, 1041-3; *Ai.*, 831-4; *Ant.*, 76, 832; *Hip.*, 1377, 1387; see also *Il.*, 11: 241; 14: 482.

from which neither affection nor enmity nor interest could arouse him—θανόντων δ' οὐδὲν ἄλγος ἄπτεται, says Creon,¹ and Electra² cries despairingly, εἰ τις ἔστ' ἐκεῖ χάρις; hopeless in its endlessness,³ for,

τίς θανόντων ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἰδίου πάλιν;

a slipping away even into nothingness;⁴ οὐκέτ' οὖσαν οὐδέν, Alcestis wails, in spite of the assurances of a happy future life which have been offered to her. In this last point, though we must carefully avoid dogmatism, we may clearly trace a decay in belief; for such expressions belong only to Euripides; Aeschylus never even hints that the dead are nothing, and Sophocles' utterances are equivocal.

Perhaps really the worst feature of death was that it was utterly unavoidable, that sometime, somewhere, it must overtake its victim, and that there was no escape.⁵ For in spite of what some modern philosophers say, those evils which are inevitable are always the hardest to be borne. Here courage and valor avail nothing; and the meeker graces of submission and resignation did not appeal very strongly to the fancy of the Hellenes. This feeling of helplessness in the strong expresses itself even from Homeric times,⁶

μοῖρ' ὁλόη, τὴν οὐ τις ἀλέγεται ὅς κε γένηται,

and in Sophocles only the words are changed,

πᾶσι θνητοῖς ἔφν μῆρος,

¹ O. C., 955; Alc., 875, 937-8; S. El., 1170; Tro., 606-7, 638; Cho., 517-8.

² S. El., 356; Tro., 1248-9; Alc., 1091; Hel., 1402-3.

³ H. M., 297, 145-6; Ag., 568-9, 1019-21; Eum., 647-8; Per., 689-90; O. C., 1701, 1706-7; Phil., 624-5; S. El., 137-9; I. T., 481; Alc., 985-6; et al.

⁴ Alc., 387, 322, 381, 390; I. A., 1251; Tro., 632-3; S. El., 1166-7; Hel., 1421. Hades is called αἰδηλον, Ai., 608. See Iwanowitsch, in Berliner Studien, 16, p. 57-8.

⁵ See Bacchyl., III, 51-2.

⁶ Od., 24: 29.

the fate of death is for all.¹ Closely akin to its certainty was its relentlessness; what it had it held:

ἔστι δ' οὐκ εὐέξοδον,
ἄλλως τε πάντως χοῖ κατὰ χθονὸς θεοὶ
λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθέναι,

says the ghost of Darius.²

Like Homer, the Tragedians consider death the work of fate,³ and therefore just and right.⁴ In Aeschylus and Sophocles especially, it is often the work of some of the gods,⁵ particularly of Zeus,⁶ or on special occasions of Phœbus,⁷ Athene,⁸ etc.; but though the gods could slay, they could not avert death even from the man they loved.⁹ Sophocles and Euripides have a fancy for attributing¹⁰ it to τύχη, an abstraction which was rapidly becoming personified in Athens, and which, curiously in contrast with this attribution, was quickly developing into a sort of tutelary divinity of the city, the ἀγαθὴ τύχη of the legal inscriptions standing in the usual place of the name of some god, which in Athens would be Athene. This attribution may denote a change in the sentiment of the people towards

¹ S. El., 860; Ant., 361-2; O. C., 1220-4; Alc., 21, 112-35, 147, 419, et al.; Eur. fr., 46; et al.

² Per., 688-90; Ag., 1360-1; Alc., 112-8, 132-6. See refs. p. 16, n. 3.

³ By Moira: Ag., 1451-2; Cho., 910-1; Alc., 11, 33; Eum., 724; Phil., 331; Ai., 516; et al.

μοῖραν (θανάτου), Med., 987; Ag., 1314, 1462, 1365; et al.

μῆρος = fate of death, Ag., 329; Hec., 695.

πέπρωται, Alc., 20-2, 26-7, 105, 147, et al.

ὀφείλεται, Alc., 419.

⁴ Alc., 49, 122-9, 3-4, et al.

⁵ Sep., 689-90; O. T., 27; Ai., 950, 970; And., 1204; Ion., 1244-5; Alc., 297-8. So Bacchyl., V., 134-5, in war, θάνατόν τε φέρει τοῖσιν ἄν δαίμων θέλη.

⁶ O. C., 1460-1; Ag., 362-6; Alc., 34; et al.

⁷ Phil., 335.

⁸ Ai., 952-3.

⁹ Hip., 1339-40; Alc., 52-3; Od., 3: 236-9; et al.

¹⁰ O. T., 263; S. fr., 865; Alc., 889; Cyc., 605-6; Ai., 1028; δύστηνος δαίμων, S. El., 1156-7.

death, or may be due simply to the tendency to make Athene the one supreme divine power in Athens. It should be remarked that the gods who send death, Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, Ares, and the rest of their circle, are not the gods who receive the dead.

Death from whatever source was a great calamity; *ὁ θάνατος δεινὸν κακόν*, was the common verdict;¹ and the terrified Iphigenia declares,² though later she retracts it, *κακὸς ζῆν κρείσσον ἢ καλῶς θανεῖν*. Sophocles' characters speak³ with no less certain sentiments:

οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτω μῦθος ὅς θανεῖν ἔρῃ.

And Prometheus fears nothing,⁴ since to him *θανεῖν οὐ μόρσιμον*. Death was felt to be so great an affliction that only sin against the gods could merit it, and that it was therefore a punishment,⁵ so that Admetus complains,

*ὅρῃ σὲ κάμει, δύνω κακῶς πεπραγόντας,
οὐδὲν θεοὺς δράσαντας ἀνθ' ὅτου θανεῖ.*

Among an emotional people like the Athenians, by the simple reaction of feeling a morbid desire for death laid hold on them under the stress of any great calamity, and it was even found by contrast to possess many advantages. The Chorus⁶ hearing of Agamemnon's death, cry out,

*κατθανεῖν κρατεῖ·
πεπαιτέρα γὰρ μοῖρα τῆς τυραννίδος,*

"It is better for us to die, for death is preferable to this tyranny!" and later they wish,⁷ *ἰὼ γὰ γὰ, εἴθ' ἐμ' ἐδέξω*. But such expressions are not to be taken seriously. The Greeks in

¹ *I. A.*, 1416; *H. M.*, 281-2.

² *I. A.*, 1252.

³ *Ant.*, 220, 580-1; *Al.*, 215.

⁴ *Pro.*, 933.

⁵ *Al.*, 246-7; *Bac.*, 1120-1; *E. El.*, 1349-55; *E. Sup.*, 496-9; *Al.*, 952-5; *et al.*

⁶ *Ag.*, 1364-5.

⁷ *Ag.*, 1538; *Per.*, 712; *A. Sup.*, 804-5; *O. C.*, 1688-90; *S. El.*, 822; *O. T.*, 1157; *Ant.*, 1329-33; *Trach.*, 16-7; *Tro.*, 630-1; *Hec.*, 497-8; *Med.*, 146-7; *et al.*, very common.

their moments of depression found life full of evils from which none were exempted:¹

*τίς δὲ πλὴν θεῶν
ἅπαντ' ἀπήμων τὸν δι' αἰῶνος χρόνον;*

and of which death was not the greatest,²

οὐ γὰρ θανεῖν ἐχθιστον,

nor long life the least,³

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλγος οἶον ἢ πολλῇ ζόῃ.

Death was then a release from evils:

τῷ γὰρ θανεῖν ἐλευθεροῦμαι φιλαίεκτων κακῶν,

is the consolation of the hunted Danaïdae;⁴ a medicine for sorrows, *μέγιστον φάρμακον*, Macaria,⁵ no less a homeless wanderer, finds it; and the tortured Prometheus⁶ envies those who can so easily end their woes. It was preferable to blindness,⁷ to evil report,⁸ to living among enemies⁹ and without friends;¹⁰ and to the weary toiler it was welcome if merely for its rest; for says Herakles,¹¹ at last realizing the true import of the oracle:

τοῖς γὰρ θανοῦσι μῆχος οὐ προσγίγνεται.

And Orestes,¹² persecuted by men and gods, proudly refuses to bewail his approaching fate.¹³ Yet suicide was not common except in case of overwhelming disgrace like that of Aias, or to avoid a lingering but inevitable death like Antigone; thus showing that these expressions were the result of merely transitory emotion. Draco¹⁴ after cool reflection declares he has no higher punishment for the greatest crimes; and in oaths¹⁵ such words as, "If I speak not the truth I ought to die," abound as the strongest form of asseveration.

¹ *Ag.*, 553-4.

² *S. El.*, 1007.

³ *S. fr.*, 509; cf. *O. C.*, 1225-7.

⁴ *A. Sup.*, 802-3; *Ant.*, 463-4.

⁵ *Her.*, 595-6; *Al.*, 635.

⁶ *Pro.*, 753-4; *Sup.*, 336-7, 684.

⁷ *O. T.*, 1368.

⁸ *Trach.*, 721.

⁹ *Trach.*, 1236-7.

¹⁰ *Al.*, 393.

¹¹ *Trach.*, 1173, 829-30.

¹² *I. T.*, 484-9.

¹³ For the treatment of this whole subject, love of life and hatred of death, see *Imanowitch*, pp. 10-58 *passim*.

¹⁴ *Plut. Sol.*, 16.

¹⁵ *O. T.*, 943-4, 661-2; *Phil.*, 1341.

But whatever advantages death might or might not possess, it brought with it one great and certain calamity, the separation from friends and relatives.¹ To us with our long-inherited belief in an endless reunion beyond the grave, perhaps with our colder philosophy and boasted greater self-control, the intense agony of parting from loved ones felt by the emotional and affectionate Athenians seems far-fetched and overdrawn, especially when we remember how often the fate of war not only slew husband and brother, but scattered forever the survivors of even noble families into the hard lot of slavery. Death and distance in such cases amounted to much the same thing, and the traveller's garb on the monuments generally denotes the journey to the tomb.² As we might expect, very affecting are the leave-takings,³ though in most cases too long for quotation, which the Tragedians have portrayed for us. And while the groups figured on the tombstones may sometimes refer to a reunion, yet the sentiments expressed are more often of the sorrow of parting, such as the following inscription⁴ from the Vth century, accompanying the representation of a lady taking leave of her mother and little daughter:

πένθος κοιριδίω τε πόσει καὶ μητρὶ λιπούσα
καὶ πατρὶ τῷ φύσαντι Πολυξένη ἐνθάδε κείται.

Equally touching are the impassioned farewells to nature,⁵ like Iphigeneia's *χαίρε μοι φίλον φάος*, or that last apostrophe by Aias before falling on his sword on the sandy Ilian shore: "And thee, O present glory of the shining day and chariot-borne sun, I salute for the last time truly and never again

¹ *H. M.*, 512-3; *Alc.*, 876-7, 1133-4; *Hip.*, 838; *Tro.*, 487-8; *Med.*, 1021-3, 1038-9; *Or.*, 1018-21; *et al.*

² See below, chap. III.

³ *O. C.*, 1604-21; *Ai.*, 545-82; *Trach.*, 1143-1278; *Alc.*, 156-392; *Hec.*, 402-43; *Her.*, 574-607; *Hip.*, 1391-1461; *I. A.*, 1434-1509; *et al.*

⁴ *Conze*: *Attische Grabreliefs*, *Fl.*, 66, p. 62. See also *Gardner's Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, pp. 168-171.

⁵ *I. A.*, 1509; *Ai.*, 412-27; *Alc.*, 244-5, 248-9; *Hec.*, 435-7.

hereafter. O light, O sacred country of mine own land Salamis, O floor of my father's hearth, and famous Athens, and race that shared my nurture, and these ye springs and rivers, even the Trojan plains, I call upon, farewell my fosterers! This last word Aias speaks to you; the rest shall I tell to those below in Hades."¹

This gloomy view of death was the normal Greek attitude. For though friends might try to console themselves with the hope of meeting again, and the poets might promise a world free from care and pain, when all had been said it was still an unknown world, which was neither home nor fatherland; and though all one's friends might come thither at last, it was still an exile and the time was long. Little wonder then that life was loved:²

τὸ φῶς τόδ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἥδιστον βλέπειν

and death, especially for the young,³ hated and feared.⁴ The whole of the *Alcestis* is the glorification of the giving in cold blood of one young life for another as the acme of human virtue.⁵

Death, then, being so terrible, was to be avoided even in name. Just how much connection was felt to exist between the name of a thing and the thing itself we do know. Among the Semites to name a thing was to call it into activity, but we do not find this notion prevalent among the Indo-Europeans. Still the name had some power or value; the Greeks escaping the sea after the Trojan war carry back the names of the dead:⁶

νεκρῶν φέροντας ὀνόματ' εἰς οἶκους πάλιν

¹ *Ai.*, 856-65.

² *I. A.*, 1250; *Alc.*, 301, 340-1, 722; *Hip.*, 193-7; *E. fr.*, 446, 537; *S. fr.*, 64; *et al.*

³ *I. A.*, 1218-9; *Or.*, 1029-30; *Alc.*, 55, 168, 634-5; *Kaibel*, 1, 5, 6, 12, 16, *et al.*

⁴ *Alc.*, 62, 669-72, 681-4; *Or.*, 1033-4; *Ant.*, 220, 580; *Hec.*, 240-1, 248; *E. El.*, 221; *et al.* oft. *Plato*: *Rep.* I, 330 e.

⁵ *Alc.*, 150-5, 320-5, 425-34, 623-4, *et al.*

⁶ *Hel.*, 399.

and in a VIth century inscription¹ Phrascleia says she is to be called *κόρη* forever, thus signifying her mystic identification with the bride of Hades. The Greeks were besides very superstitious about words—probably the relic of some earlier system of divination whose real essence had been forgotten. The mention of death was a bad omen; *μοῖρα δυσώνυμος*, Homer² says. The messenger³ from Corinth will not at first say that Polybus is dead, but only that Oedipus is declared king; and Agamemnon's herald answers the Chorus whose curiosity has been stirred by a vague hint of the probable drowning of Menelaus:⁴

εὐφημον ἡμᾶρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλω
γλώσση μαίνειν.

Plato⁵ tells us that likewise the name of Hades was avoided: οἱ πολλοὶ φοβούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα Hades Πλούτωνα wealth-giver καλοῦσιν αὐτόν. The name Pluto occurs in the Tragedians⁶ as an equivalent for Hades, but it is rare and seems to have been introduced chiefly for the metre.

The visible representation of death was still more ominous; and when, during the Peloponnesian War, the fleet for Syracuse was being sent out, the fact that just at that time the feast of Adonis was being celebrated and the effigies of his dead body filled the streets, was noted with gloomy foreboding,⁷ especially after the disaster. It is not likely that the Greeks thought that the display of these effigies actually caused the disaster, but rather that it was a sign from the gods; though they may have had a feeling inherited from earlier times that there was some evil influence connected with them. The relation of cause to effect is rarely clear in the popular mind.

¹ *Kaibel*, 6.

² *Il.*, 12: 116.

³ *O. T.*, 939-42.

⁴ *Ag.*, 636-7, 1247; *Alc.*, 139, 512-21; *Hec.*, 180-1; *I. A.*, 855-73; *Hip.*, 797-800; *et al. oft.*

⁵ *Plato: Cratyl.*, 403 a.

⁶ *Pro.*, 806; *Alc.*, 360; *H. M.*, 808.

⁷ *Plut. Alcib.*, 18; *Nic.*, 13; *Thuc.*, 6: 30; *Fraser: Golden Bough*, I, 284-5.

To bring the fact home to an individual by calling him dead was a degree worse:

βοῦλει λέγεσθαι μὴ θανὼν τεθνηκέναι;

Helen asks doubtfully, and Menelaus finding no other way of safety answers,¹

κακὸς μὲν ὄρνις· εἰ δὲ κερδανῶ λέγειν,
ἑτοιμός εἰμι μὴ θανὼν λόγῳ θανεῖν.

We must notice how careful each is to put *μὴ θανὼν* before the inauspicious word. Orestes,² when Electra wails over the urn, "Ah me unhappy if I am to be deprived of thy tomb!" checks her hastily with the words, "Speak auspiciously!" The Chorus³ in the *Agamemnon* raging in fierce helplessness against Aegisthus, snatch up his last word, and twisting it to a new meaning as if they would wrest fate, cry out, *δεχομένους λέγεις θανεῖν σε*. It was a piece of daring, almost of impiety on the part of Orestes, in keeping with his rather reckless character, to bid the Paedagogus report him as dead; and realizing this, as we have just seen he did, he defends himself rather knavishly:⁴

τί γὰρ με λυπεῖ τοῦθ'· ὅταν λόγῳ θανὼν
ἐργοῖσι σωθῶ καὶ ξενέγκωμαι κλέος;
δοκῶ μὲν, οὐδὲν ῥήμα σὺν κέρδει κακόν.
ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον πολλάκις καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς
λόγῳ μάρτην θνήσκοντας· εἰθ' ὅταν δόμους
ἐλθῶσιν αὐτίς, ἐκτετίμηνται πλέον.

Such a deception, for different reasons, was practiced by Pythagoras and some of his pupils, by Heraclitus, Odysseus, and others, and their success was probably due not only to the popular superstition, but to the wonder they excited that they could thus dare fate and live. In later times (beginning we do not know how early), to be actually believed dead and to have the funeral ceremonies performed, was a very serious matter; for in that case, according to the law quoted by Plutarch,⁵ the person was deemed polluted: *μὴ νομίζειν ἀγνοῦς, μήθ'*

¹ *Hel.*, 1050-2.

² *S. El.*, 1209-10.

³ *Ag.*, 1653; *Hec.*, 1279-84.

⁴ *S. El.*, 59-64.

⁵ *Plut. Quaes. Rom.*, 5.

ἐὰν ἱεροῖς πλησιάζειν, οἷς ἐκφορὰ γέγονει καὶ τάφος ὡς τεθνηκόσι. Télfy, commenting on this law,¹ describes at length the curious process through which persons once really supposed dead had to go to be restored to their former rights as living men; and the names ἰσπερόπομποι and δευτερόπομποι were given them.² The reason was that such persons were considered consecrated to the lower gods and therefore impure; and Herakles³ warns Admetus not to speak to the restored Alcestis for three days, until she is freed from her consecration to the chthonian divinities.

Since dreams were often looked upon as supernatural revelations, it was especially bad to dream of being dead or clothed in the garments of the dead; and when, early in this Vth century, Mardonius sent a messenger as his representative to the oracle, and that messenger dreamed of being killed, it clearly foretold Mardonius' own death.⁴

The unintentional causing of the death of another was likewise ominous—though that may have been owing to the vengeance of the departed spirit—as when Clytaemnestra warns Achilles lest Iphigeneia's death be of evil omen to his marriage.⁵ And even to wail too much for the dead might stir up wrath from the lower gods.⁶

Sophocles records for us a curious superstition, which, though the scene is laid in Homeric times, is not mentioned by Homer,⁷ that a gift from an enemy is fatal.⁸ Aias attributed all his misfortunes to the sword given him by Hector, "according to the popular adage,"

ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα κοῖν' ὄνησιμα⁹

and Teucer, gazing on the dead body of Aias, moralizes,

¹ Télfy: *Corpus Juris Attici*, 1446.

² Hesych., s. v.

³ *Alc.*, 1144-6; see 22-3, 75-6.

⁴ *Plut. Alcib.*, 39; see *Aristid.*, 19; *Paus.*, 4: 13: 1.

⁵ *I. A.*, 987-9.

⁶ *O. C.*, 1751-3.

⁷ *Cf. Il.*, 7: 303 ff.

⁸ *Ai.*, 661-5, 1026-35.

"Knowest thou how at last Hector though dead was doomed to be thy destruction? Consider before the gods the fate, τὴν, of two mortals: Hector by the very girdle which was given him by this man, was bound to the steed-borne car, and continually racked and mangled until he breathed out his life. And this other, Aias, through Hector's gift, the sword, perished by its means through a deadly fall. Did not Erinys forge this sword, and Hades the fierce workman make that girdle?" So too it will be remembered the gift of blood from Nessus¹ caused the death of Herakles, through in this case intentionally.

These were the inherent, the spontaneous, popular notions, derived, possibly, from a rude reasoning, from far-traveled reports, from the echoes of some forgotten cult. However and whencesoever they came, they were the common heritage of the people. But had the philosophers, the real thinkers, the great popular teachers, nothing better to say? In later times the many philosophical sects, foreign elements in religion, as in the worship of Dionysus and of Isis, lent a different coloring to the phraseology at least. But in the Vth century, besides the fact that foreign religions were not tolerated, philosophy—real philosophy concerning the soul—was only beginning. In the days of Aeschylus it served simply to steel the heart against the inevitable:

ἀλλ' εὐκλεῶς τοι κατθανεῖν χάρις βροτῶ,²

says Cassandra in despair³; and Prometheus,⁴ who knows he is deathless, can very well advise,

τὴν πεπρωμένην δὲ χρεὶ
αἶσαν φέρειν ὡς ῥέστα, γιγνώσκονδ' ὅτι
τὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἔστ' ἀδύρμιτον σθένος.

Sophocles, belonging to a later phase, makes Aias⁵ say:

ἀλλ' ἢ καλῶς ζῆν ἢ καλῶς τεθνηκέναι
τὸν εὐγενῆ χρεὶ.

¹ *Trach.*, 555-81.

² *Ag.*, 1304.

³ *Pro.*, 103-5.

⁴ *Ai.*, 479-80.

And again he says:¹

ὅστις δὲ θνητῶν θάνατον ὀρρωδεῖ λίαν
μῶρος πέφυκε·

and when he is old:²

μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νικᾷ λόγον· τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ φανῇ,
βῆναι κείθεν ὅθεν περ ἦκει
πολλὸν δεύτερον, ὥς τάχιστα,

as if he had found life, in spite of his many successes, full of care and weariness.³ In Euripides, the friend and follower of philosophers, we expect and find a different line of thought. He is speculative, and speaks⁴ of ἄλλο σχῆμα βίου, and says:⁵

ὁ νοῦς
τῶν κατθανόντων ζῇ μὲν οὖν, γνώμην δ' ἔχει
ἀθάνατον εἰς ἀθάνατον αἰθέρ' ἐμπεσών,

something which comes rather near our notion of pure spirit. The whole theory however is abstruse, and αἰθήρ an entirely uncertain concept. It was a Homeric term for the abode of the gods, and as a later Athenian inscription calls it ὑγρός, damp, it was probably conceived of as in the cloudy sky, and it is often mentioned interchangeably with οὐρανός.⁶ From various lines of the *Helena*⁷ taken together we should judge that οὐρανός was the place, and αἰθήρ the substance. But we need not suppose that every mind held the same image of so intangible an idea as αἰθήρ; and, though the stone-cutter's thoughts may have risen no higher than the cloudy sky, the poet and the seer doubtless looked into the vast spaces be-

¹ *S. fr.*, 865.

² *O. C.*, 1225-7.

³ See *S. El.*, 1007, and *fr.*, 509, quoted on p. 19.

⁴ *Med.*, 1039; *Alc.*, 21; *Ion*, 1067; *I. A.*, 1508.

⁵ *Hel.*, 1014-6; see *E. fr.*, 487.

⁶ *Gardner: New Chapters in Greek History*, pp. 330-2.

⁷ *Hel.*, 583-4, 33-4, 705, 1219, 605-7.

yond. The inscription over the warriors slain at Potidaea, 432 B. C., reads:¹

αἰθήρ μεμ ψυχὰς ὑπεδέξατο, σώματα δὲ χθὼν
τῶνδε, κτλ.,

and Kaufmann,² remarking on this, adds that αἰθήρ, according to Anaxagoras and the other philosophers, is not the soul-substance merely, that is, the breath, the air, but Olympus, the abode of the gods, Elysium; he quotes also two IVth century inscriptions:³

Εὐρυμάχου ψυχὴν καὶ ὑπερφιάλους διανοίας
αἰθήρ ὑγρὸς ἔχει, σῶμα δὲ τύμβος ἔδε·

and,

Θυμὸν δὲ Κύνου καὶ ὑπερφιάλους διανοίας
αἰθήρ λαμπρὸς ἔχει, σῶμα δὲ τύμβος ἔδε.

There is a striking likeness between these two which indicates that whether by imitation of the Potidaean one or not, this idea had passed into the common terminology of the tomb-stone-cutter. Sophocles,⁴ too, once speaks of αἰθέρα μέγαν in the sense of the future world, with the word δύναι used so often in Homer of "putting on" the dark covering of earth. And again⁵ he says, ὦ μέγας αἰθήρ, ὦ Ζεῦ, as if these terms were equivalent. Euripides also speaks of the αἰθέρα μέγαν into which Electra⁶ sends groans for her father to hear; and in addition places the damp aether, which seems to be the same thing, far away in the west:⁷

ἂν ὑγρὸν ἀμπταῖν αἰθέρα πόρῳ γαί-
ας Ἑλλανίας, ἀστέρας ἐσπέρους,
οἷον οἷον ἄλγος ἐπαθον, φίλαι.

People used to disparage the Eleusinian Mysteries on the

¹ *Kaibel*, 21; II., 5, 6.

² *Kaufmann: Die Jenseitshoffnungen*, etc., p. 16. See *Rohde*, p. 549; and *Iwanowitsch*, p. 73; but I cannot fully accept all the last says, especially about *Or.*, 1086-8, and *E. Sup.*, 1148-50.

³ *Kaibel*, 41.

⁴ *Ai.*, 1192.

⁵ *E. El.*, 59.

⁶ *O. C.*, 1471.

⁷ *Ion*, 796-8.

ground that they really gave but little comfort concerning the future life. But Kaufmann,¹ in his admirable little book, has shown that they were not as ineffectual as was formerly supposed. Nägelsbach, he tells us,² in commenting on the differences between the three great sets of Mysteries, says: "In the Orphic, men sought for purity and holiness; in the Dionysiac, for blessedness and ease; in the Eleusinian, for comfort and rest in the future life." It will be remembered in how much favor the Mysteries, especially the Eleusinian, were held; what immense numbers of people, even from afar, were initiated; and how carefully the secrets, though known to so many, were kept: and this all goes to show how deeply these teachings were impressed on the hearts of the people, and how truly these sentiments entered into their life and thought.³

When we look closely we find traces, often very clear ones, of these Eleusinian teachings regarding the future life. The Mystae in the *Frogs*⁴ claim that μόνοις ἡμῖν belong the blessings which Herakles has somewhat irreverently described in an earlier passage. The Pseudo-Plato⁵ claims for them a front place in the realms of the blest: ὅσοις μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ ζῆν δαίμων ἀγαθὸς ἐπέπνευσεν, εἰς τὸν τῶν εὐσεβῶν χώρον οἰκίζονται, ἐνθα, etc. (a description of the Elysian fields), ἐνταῦθα τοῖς μεμνημένοις ἐστὶ τις προεδρία. It will be seen that the uninitiated are not excluded from blessedness if they have led good lives, but that the initiated have the honor of the front rank, a reward which appealed to the ambitious and emulous Greeks. In Polygnotus' great painting of Hades, in the Lesche at Delphi, we see the influence of the Eleusinian Mysteries throughout. At the very beginning⁶

¹ C. M. Kaufmann: *Die Jenseitshoffnungen der Griechen u. Römer*, 1897.

² Kaufmann, p. 4.

³ See Paus., 10: 31: 11. Note also the great popularity of the name Demetrios among the Modern Greeks, surely a survival.

⁴ *Frogs*, 454-5, 154-7.

⁵ *Axiarch.*, 371 c. d. See Rohde, p. 288, n. 1.

⁶ Paus., 10: 28: 3.

Cleoboea is seated in Charon's boat, holding the mystic cyst, κιβωτός, on her knees, receiving honor because she first introduced the Mysteries into Thasos. On the tombstones and vases¹ we frequently find this box, often called a "jewel-box," represented in the hands or on the knees of a lady. At the end of Polygnotus' painting,² among the great criminals, are four people who have mocked the Mysteries; a man, a boy and two women: οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φέροντες ὕδωρ ἐτι, τῇ δὲ γυναιὶ κατεῦχθαι τὴν ὕδριαν εἰκάσει· ὅσον δὲ ἐν τῷ δοτράκῳ λοιπὸν ἦν τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐκχέουσα ἔστιν αὐτῆς ἐς τὸν πῖθον. Just wherein consists the severity of such punishment it is hard to realize, unless on the one hand the actions may be highly symbolical, or on the other they may merely denote that endless and unremunerative labor, the doing of a simple thing that yet never is done, which was the Greek ideal of perfect unhappiness. Our painter seems to have been of that severe school who consider sins of omission as equally heinous with sins of commission; for not far³ from the mockers are two women carrying water in broken pitchers, with an inscription above them stating that they are "not of the initiated," οὐ μεμνημένων. Pindar⁴ speaks of the fine rewards in Elysium which await those "purified." Kaufmann⁵ thinks the Eleusinian influence was very wide and deep; and its effect on our three Tragedians he sums up thus: "The fundamental idea of the Aeschylean works is that death is better than life; and in the seven surviving tragedies of Sophocles no less than six persons die voluntarily, although they hold only the first intimations of a better existence in a future life. And as far as Euripides in his poetic art departs from Aeschylus and Sophocles, so near does he approach again when he speaks of death or life; many remarks show life beautiful and agreeable,

¹ Conze, Pl. 30, 68, 83; Gerhard: *Ap. Vasenb.*, Pl. 16, et al. oft.

² Paus., 10: 31: 11. See Fraser's note on § 9 in his *Paus. Descr. of Greece*, 1898, Vol. VI., pp. 388-91.

³ Paus., 10: 31: 9.

⁴ Pind. *Ol. Odes.*, 2, 124 ff.

⁵ Kaufmann, p. 3.

yet more make it a burden; and only in Euripides do we always find verses which speak openly of a reward in the future." This seems to be making too much out of too little. Which six of Sophocles' characters he refers to is not clear. If the six suicides are intended: Iocaste, Deianeira and Aias had done deeds so horrible that they could dread nothing worse than their present life; Antigone preferred a quick departure to the slow agony of starvation, the most rational thing she could do, independently of any thought of a future life; and Haemon and his mother yielded weakly to affection, impelled by the unrelenting curse. If Oedipus and Herakles are included, both were worn out with long suffering, so that even annihilation would have been welcome. In Euripides' plays the *Alcestis* is a glorification of life triumphant over death; and in many of the others the heroes and heroines, with no loss of their heroism, consider no deception too unworthy, no impiety too great, if they may thereby save their lives. In Aeschylus, as far as his plays are left to us, there is not one suicide, no matter how great the evil or disgrace. On the contrary, Aeschylus teaches a noble and dignified resignation to an inevitable evil; Sophocles, that, since life contains so much of good, the after-life may not be so very bad, and should be met with equanimity; and Euripides, with his greater sensitiveness to suffering and injustice, that since life here has so much of pain and sorrow, and the gods are just and gracious, there must be compensation somewhere, and the only possible place is beyond the tomb. These differences are largely due to the differing temperaments of the poets, but at the same time their mental attitude was doubtless in great part the reflection of progressive states of thought among the people at large, due not to accident but to natural development. Kaufmann is ready to attribute all these better views of a future life to the Mysteries. But one must not be dogmatic. In any case these views had a tendency to overstep the formal and narrow limits of the Eleusinian teachings. We have seen that

Aristophanes and Pindar held that future blessedness was only for the initiated; the teaching of Musaeus and Orpheus, as currently received among the people, was to the same effect;¹ and Sophocles,² according to Kaufmann, taught the same. But the Pseudo-Plato, whenever he lived, gave them only the front rank. And Euripides, who is frequently in advance of his generation, would lead us to infer that goodness without initiation is sufficient of itself.³

The tomb-inscriptions of the IVth century often follow the Euripidean tradition, as this⁴ from Athens, 394 or 373 B. C.:

οὐδένα πημάνας ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
εἰς Ἀίδα κατέβα πᾶσιν μακάριστος ἰδέσθαι.

There are others, however, more Eleusinian in tone, as the following,⁵ both from Athens, probably early in the IVth century:

βοτῆα μὲν καὶ σάρκας ἔχει χθὼν παῖδα τὸν ἦδόν,
ψυχὴ δ' εὐσεβέων οἴχεται εἰς θάλαμον.

and,

σῶμα μὲν ἐν κόλποις κατέχει τὸδε γαῖα Πλάτωνος,
ψυχὴ δ' ἰσοθέων τάξιν ἔχει μακάρων.

Speusippus considers⁶ that τάξιν μακάρων is the same as χάρος εὐσεβῶν, in which, as we have seen, the Pseudo-Plato gives the Mystae the first rank, and the θάλαμον εὐσεβέων is doubtless another expression for the same idea.⁷

Thus then did death, viewed from the standpoint of natural impulse, of philosophy and of religion, appear to the baffled and sensitive minds of the Athenians; the most uncertain of all certainties, for they fully realized that in the midst of life we are in death, and σωθῆναι⁸ is a frequent term for "to live;"

¹ Plato: *Rep.*, ii, 364-5.

² *Soph. fr.*, 753; Kaufmann, p. 4.

³ *Alc.*, 744-6: *fr.*, 848; quoted below, chap. II, *ad fin.*

⁴ *Kaibel*, 26, ll. 8-9.

⁵ *Kaibel*, 90; *Preger*, 12.

⁶ Kaufmann, p. 21.

⁷ Kaufmann, p. 2, quoted below, chap. II, *ad fin.*

⁸ *E. El.*, 60; *Hec.*, 73; *Hel.*, 297, *et al.* oft.

coming no one knew whence, from god or fate or demon; striking no one knew whom, for "somehow the treacherous and the wily the gods delight in rescuing from Hades, but the just and the upright they are ever dismissing;"¹ leading no one knew whither, and in this lay its real horror; for though fancy might indulge in pleasing dreams, though philosophy might argue for a life no worse than this, though religion might promise blessedness and contentment, the only certain verdict was that "after death there await men such things as they think not nor expect."²

¹ *Phil.*, 448-50.

² *Heraclitus, fr.*, 122.

CHAPTER II

CONDITION AND POWERS OF THE DEAD

THE Greeks do not seem to have formed a very definite conception of the difference between the state of life and that of death. Buchholz has worked Homer's notions out into an elaborate scheme. He says:¹ "The psychological principle—spirit, understanding, will, feeling—dwells in θυμός and φρένες, the breathable life-principle in the ψυχή, but the body-principle in the μένος. When life ceases, the ψυχή flies to the shades in Hades; but the activity of the φρένες, the θυμός and the μένος, ceases and dies utterly, and thereby the man loses his conscious personality, his proper *ego*, his somato-psychic existence; for all on which the animal and spiritual (*geistige*) life depended, the ψυχή leaves here on earth, and takes nothing with it to Hades, where, without will, thought and sensation, instinct and feeling, devoid of all affection, it continues a most miserable existence." The ψυχή, then, by no means corresponds to the modern idea of a soul, being far less comprehensive. The ψυχαι are mere εἰδωλα, σκιαὶ and ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα, beingless visions,² unfeeling and forgetful, without articulate speech, but like gibbering bats³ or birds, and revived for a time only by the drinking of blood. The picture Buchholz draws is exceedingly gloomy, perhaps needlessly so. For, while his conclusions can be supported by reference to particular passages, Homer takes no trouble to be consistent; and certainly the spirits interviewed by Odysseus retained their memory and

¹ *Buchholz: Die Homerischen Realien*, III. b, 36; see III. b, 4-69; II. b, 157-60.

² *Od.*, 11: 476; *et al.*

³ *Od.*, 24: 5-9; *et al.*

interest in things terrestrial: the gloomy Achilles¹ at last rejoices in the renown of his son; Elpenor and Teiresias² both recognize Odysseus without drinking of the blood; and the wrathful Aias,³ mindful of his wrongs at Odysseus' hands, seeing him from afar, will not even approach the libations in the trench.

The soul, shorn of so much of its former glory, would naturally be conceived of as diminutive in size; and so it appears on the vases,⁴ though it is never thus represented in either Homer or the Tragedians. That it could issue from a small opening is no proof in point, for spirits, in story at least, are very compressible, and the full-sized *ειδωλον* of Iphthime passed easily through the keyhole.⁵ Besides, the ghosts seen by Odysseus were probably of human proportions, for there is no statement to the contrary. In a VIth century vase-painting⁶ at the British Museum, the soul of Patroclus is really gigantic.

The *ψυχή* in Homer issues from the mouth,⁷

ἔπει δὲ κεν ἀμείψεται ἔρκος ὀδόντων,

leaving, doubtless, with the breath, though in the other cases⁸ where the life is breathed out, it is *θυμὸς* that is named, but probably interchangeably with *ψυχή*. It could also depart through a wound.⁹ The Tragedians, maintaining the belief that the soul issues from the mouth, made no attempt at keeping *ψυχή* separate from the other terms; and we find the expressions,¹⁰

οὕτω τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ὀρυγάνει πρῶτον,

and, *βίον ἐκπνέων*. In other cases, *ψυχή* is a mere concurrence of activities which ceases with death.¹¹

¹ *Od.*, II: 540.

² *Od.*, II: 51-4, 90-6.

³ *Od.*, II: 543-6.

⁴ *Pottier: Lécythes Blancs*, pp. 75-9, pl. ii, iv; *Gerhard: Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, pl. 198 (2), 199 (1); *et al.*, often, esp. on white lekythoi.

⁵ *Od.*, 4: 838-9.

⁶ *Gerhard: Auserl. Vasen.*, pl. 198 (1).

⁷ *Il.*, 9: 409.

⁸ *Il.*, 13: 654; 16: 468; *et al.*

⁹ *Il.*, 14: 518-9.

¹⁰ *Ag.*, 1388, 1493.

¹¹ *Alc.*, 301; *Or.*, 1034.

While the Greeks, to form some idea of the soul, compared it to a dream,¹ to smoke,² to the shadow which the sun casts on the wall,³ and finally adopted as their favorite term the word *image* or *picture*, *ειδωλον*, it is likely that these terms, losing their first intention of shadowiness and unreality, came to denote something more distinct and substantial.⁴ It is true, Euripides thinking of the unsubstantiality of a spirit asks,⁵ "Wilt thou bury his *σκιά*?" and Electra laments⁶ that of Orestes she has nothing left but *σποδὸν τε καὶ σκιάν*. But we find Sophocles on the other hand using the term as a mournful synonym for life:⁷

*ὄρω γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ὄντας ἄλλο πλὴν
εἰδωλ' ὅσοι περ ζῶμεν ἢ κοίφην σκιάν*

and,

ἀνθρώπος ἐστὶ πνεῦμα καὶ σκιά μόνον.

The belief that ghosts could make themselves visible is as old as our knowledge of the human race. The existence of such manifestations has been questioned and ridiculed, but has never been disproved. On the contrary, the reappearance of the departed spirit is what men believe might naturally happen. The Greeks as a race evidently thought so at least, and very few, save a philosopher here and there, denied it until in late and decaying times materialism displaced faith in the gods and all supernatural phenomena. Homer, as we might expect, mentions them freely. Odysseus' visit to Hades,⁸ and the glimpse into the underworld with the suitors,⁹ may be mere poetic digressions; but we learn from them the nature of a spirit, that it was thin and impalpable, seen and heard, able to weep and speak, but not to touch or to be touched, "like a

¹ *Od.*, II, 207-8.

² *Plato: Phaedo*, 70; *Il.*, 23: 100-1.

³ *σκιά*, common.

⁴ *G. Perrot, in Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1895.

⁵ *Hel.*, 1240.

⁶ *S. El.*, 1159.

⁷ *Ai.*, 125-6; *S. fr.* 12; *fr.* 859.

⁸ *Od.*, II: 34-633.

⁹ *Od.*, 24: 6-9, 14, 98-104.

dream."¹ These, it is to be noticed, were the souls, the *ψυχαί*, in Hades, whether of buried or of unburied bodies; for Elpenor's plaint² does not accord with what we hear of the suitors.³ They were the actual spirits of the dead in their final home. Whether they strayed up to earth and appeared before the waking eye, Homer does not tell us; but the *ψυχή* of Patroclus⁴ visits Achilles in sleep and is something more than a mere dream. There was another sort of ghost, *εἰδῶλον*, visible to the seer Theoclymenus, though not to the others,⁵

*εἰδῶλων δὲ πλεον πρόθυρον, πλείη δὲ καὶ ἀνλὴ
λεμένων Ἑρεβόσδε ὑπὸ ζόφον,*

apparitions of the living but foretelling their death. There was still another sort, one fashioned by the gods to deceive people whether for good or ill, but having no real connection with the person represented and no direct effect on his life; as when Apollo, after carrying off Aeneas, made an *εἰδῶλον* of him for the Greeks and Trojans to fight over;⁶ or when Athene made an *εἰδῶλον* like Iphthime, which, having cheered Penelope in a dream, "slipped away by the bolt of the door and passed into the breath of the wind,"⁷ an objective entity and not a mere subjective impression.

In historical times this belief in ghosts and apparitions remained substantially the same, but became more definite and specific. The gods were still held to create *εἰδῶλα*, entities wholly independent of the persons they resembled. Thus Clytaemnestra at one time denies that she killed Agamemnon, but says,⁸ "The ancient ruthless evil genius of Atreus . . . likened to the wife of this dead man hath visited him with vengeance." And not Helen, some supposed, but only an

¹ *Od.*, 11: 204-23, 391-4. ² *Ibid.*, 11: 51-4. ³ *Ibid.*, 24: 99-104.

⁴ *Il.*, 23: 65-107; frequent on the vases at the dragging of Hector.

⁵ *Od.*, 20: 355-6.

⁶ *Il.*, 5: 449-53.

⁷ *Od.*, 4: 795-841, *Lang, Leaf and Myers'* transl.

⁸ *Ag.*, 1500-3.

image like her, was carried to Troy. This *εἰδῶλον* of Helen is interesting, not only for the large part it played in Greek literature, but because we have a more complete account of it than of any other. Helen herself speaking of it calls it *εἰδῶλον ἐμπνον* sent *οὐρανοῦ ἀπο* and made by Hera¹ from *αἰθήρ*,² though Electra says it was sent by Zeus.³ Menelaus calls it *νεφέλης ἀγαλμα λυγρόν*, a baneful image of cloud,⁴ the Messenger⁵ refers to it contemptuously as *νεφέλην*; and the Chorus⁶ call it *νεφέλαν, εἰδῶλον ἱρὸν Ἥρας*. Twice Helen refers⁷ to it as *δόκησις*, a fancy. Its departure⁸ was into *αἰθήρ* and *οὐρανός*. Its unreality and unsubstantiality, then, are strongly insisted on. On the other hand it was represented as seeming very real. Menelaus dragged it by the hair from Troy,⁹ saved it from the wreck, and hid it in a cave; and the Messenger's astonishment¹⁰ at finding that it was only a cloud is very plain.

Of the apparitions of those about to die, the Tragedians, as far as we know, say nothing; but Megara in her extremity calls upon the living Herakles to help her,¹¹

*ἔλθ' καὶ σκιὰ φάνηθί μοι,
ἄλκαρ γὰρ ἔλθ' ὧν ἱκανὸν ἂν γένοιτο σύ.*

And Pausanias¹² tells us that when Teurosthenes was victor at Olympia, an apparition, *φάσμα*, closely resembling him, appeared at his home and announced his victory.

Phantoms which appear in dreams are less open to criticism as to the truthfulness of the witness; but the Greeks throughout their history believed them to be at least possibly objective. Admetus hopes¹³ to see Alcestis in dreams, but this may have been only the common language of affection. Moreover their appearance generally foretold misfortune, as when Darius

¹ *Hel.*, 33-4.

² *Ibid.*, 582-6.

³ *E. El.*, 1282-3.

⁴ *Hel.*, 705, 1219.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 707, 750.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1135-6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 119, 36.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1219, 605-7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 116, 412-3, 424-5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 707 ff.

¹¹ *H. M.*, 494-5.

¹² *Paus.*, 6: 9: 3.

¹³ *Alc.*, 354-6.

appears to Atossa,¹ and Eteocles sees the phantoms,² ὄψεις ἐνυπνίων φαντασμάτων, dividing the property. The φάσματα, φαντάσματα of Achilles and of her son appear to Hekabe³ as a premonition of evil. Clytaemnestra calls herself ὄναρ, and it is possible she should be thought of as seen by the sleeping Furies alone, and as soon as they awake she vanishes.⁴ Dream-phantoms are the only sort which Sophocles mentions, and that but once, when he admits that Clytaemnestra⁵ twice saw Agamemnon in a dream.

The general belief in ghosts, however, was so strong that both Aeschylus and Euripides bring them on the stage. The calling up of Darius by means of libations, chanting and prayers to the χθόνιοι, is very dramatic⁶ and unquestionably is meant to represent an actual materialization of his spirit.⁷ But Clytaemnestra,⁸ as we have just said, is possibly merely a dream, visible to the audience for stage effect, and very probably is no more to be imagined as on the same plane of physical actuality with the other characters in the play than are the gods who stand in the midst of pedimental battles. Io speaks⁹ of seeing the ghost of Argus; but though she refers to the shrill sound of the reed, it is not likely that the phantom was perceptible to any but herself, or that it was represented on the stage. Euripides is more bold and realistic in his treatment of stage ghosts. The εἰδωλον of Polydorus¹⁰ speaks a long prologue and very considerably moves away lest his mother be frightened at sight of him. The ghost of Achilles is freely talked of as appearing to the whole army;¹¹ and Admetus fears lest the restored Alcestis be some phantom from the

¹ *Per.*, 197-8, 518-9.² *Sep.*, 710-1.³ *Hec.*, 69-77, 92-5, 702-9.⁴ *Eum.*, 116.⁵ *S. El.*, 417-23.⁶ *Ier.*, 619-22, 633-80, 686-8, 697, etc.⁷ *Ibid.*, 681-842.⁸ *Eum.*, 94-139.⁹ *Pro.*, 567-71, 574-5.¹⁰ *Hec.*, 1-58.¹¹ *Ibid.*, 37-41, 108-15.

dead,¹ φάσμα νεκρέων. In like manner Teucer thinks Helen is γυναικὸς εἰκὼ φάνιον, and Menelaus that she is a phantom from Hecate.²

Murderers cut off the extremities of their victims and wiped the blood on their heads to prevent their ghosts from annoying them;³ though Sophocles merely says it was for purification.⁴ There would seem to have been reason for this practice, since we hear of ghosts evoked to declare their murderers.⁵ But Plato, who tries to turn everything to moral account, says ghosts are the souls of those who have died not pure,⁶ αἱ μὴ καθαρῶς ἀπολυνθεῖσαι; and as murderers for this reason are especially restless, he would have their bodies buried at crossroads, where there was always an image of Hecate⁷ to keep ghosts from walking.⁸

Homer mentions the ghosts of animals,⁹ Orion hunting "the very beasts that himself had slain in the lonely hills;" but the Tragedians say nothing on this subject.

Greek story and legend were full of ghosts. Pausanias mentions them many times and accounts for them, if one must believe such things, by the theory of the immortality of the soul.¹⁰ He tells how, up to his time, at Marathon they fought the great battle over again every night, though curiosity-seekers could never see them;¹¹ that a host of εἰδωλα dwelt in the Temple of Isis in Phocis, and so terrified an intruder that he died shortly after;¹² that the εἰδωλον of Actaeon at Orchomenus¹³ troubled the people until they performed proper burial

¹ *Alc.*, 1127.² *Hel.*, 72-3, 569-70.³ *Cho.*, 539; *Ap. Rh.*, 4: 447. See also Kittredge in *Amer. Journal of Philol.*, Vol. vi, 150 ff.⁴ *S. El.*, 445-6.⁵ *Apul. Metam.*, 2: 35; *Heliodor. Eth.*, 6: 14. See also *Max. Tyrius.*, 14: 2; 1: 900, etc.⁶ *Plato: Phaedo*, 81 c, d.⁷ For Hecate, see chap. III.⁸ *Plato: Laws*, 837 b; *Farnell: Greek Cults*, II, 515; *Hel.*, 569-70.⁹ *Od.*, 11: 572-5.¹⁰ *Paus.*, 4: 32: 4.¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1: 32: 4.¹² *Ibid.*, 10: 32: 17.¹³ *Ibid.*, 9: 38: 5.

rites for him; that the δαίμων of one of Odysseus' sailors murdered at Rhegium annually insisted on having a girl sacrificed to him, and ended his inhuman demands only after a wrestling match with a famous athlete in 468 B. C.—but the hand of the priest is too evident in this last phenomenon. He tells also² of the occasional appearances of such heroes as Neoptolemus, Echetlaeus, and others, at battles and elsewhere. He holds too that phantoms in dreams are real manifestations,³ as of Pindar, who appeared soon after his death to an old woman and dictated to her his last poem.

From ghosts to a resurrection is a natural and easy step in belief. To rise again was however a difficult matter in practice, to be accomplished only by the direct intervention of the gods:⁴

εἰ γὰρ μή τις θεῶν ἀναστήσει νῦν

though their power to intervene was generally acknowledged.⁵ Asklepios especially was the god who raised the dead; but for this Zeus struck him with his thunderbolt, thus indicating that it was not a right thing for him to do.⁶ Henceforth only by trickery, as when Apollo cheated the Moirai⁷ or Sisyphus the gods of the underworld;⁸ or by superhuman force, as when Herakles wrestled with Thanatos for Alcestis;⁹ or by some great spell, such as the music with which Orpheus won back Eurydice,¹⁰ could the dead be brought to life again. To the Greeks of historic times the visible destruction of the body by fire or decay was a stumbling-block to belief in a resurrection; for though in Homeric days a goddess might pre-

¹ Paus., 6: 6: 7-10.

² Ibid., 1: 4: 4; 1: 32: 5; 4: 42: 4; et al.; Plut. Thes., 35; Themist., 15.

³ Paus., 9: 23: 4; 4: 13; 4: 26: 7, 8; et al. ⁴ H. M., 719; et al.

⁵ Alc., 218-9.

⁶ Ibid., 122-9, 3-4; Ag., 1022-4. A non-Homeric idea, Iwanowitsch, p. 39. See Dyer: *Gods in Greece*, ch. on Æsculapius.

⁷ Alc., 11-2, 32-4. ⁸ Phil., 624-5. ⁹ Alc., 1140-2. ¹⁰ Ibid., 357-9.

serve intact the body of some favorite, as of Patroclus,¹ in succeeding centuries the art of embalming had been lost, apparently even by the gods. But that did not prevent disembodied souls from finding some other corporeal domicile, though it were less commodious or less adapted to their needs; and if they could content themselves with the inferior convenience of an animal body, why not also with that of a plant or mineral? Thus Cadmus and Harmonia are transformed to serpents,² the wife of Tereus to a nightingale,³ Niobe to a stone,⁴ Lycurgus to a rocky spring,⁵ and many others to like objects. Pausanias gives many similar instances;⁶ but Plato,⁷ when he says men turn to the animals they most resemble, is speaking only figuratively. For such a transformation it was not necessary that actual death should occur, though it implied in a way a sort of death. There were stories, moreover, of mortals who were transformed to gods,⁸ as Herakles, or taken up to heaven or to other blessed regions. The transmigration of souls into other human bodies is a kindred theory and must have developed rather early. Pythagoras is the first Greek philosopher that we know of who taught this doctrine; but since it is the natural corollary of the others, it is more likely that he merely formulated and organized an old superstition into a system and gave it the stamp of his genius, than that he invented or borrowed a new philosophy—that he was the last rather than the first of those who seriously advocated this idea. The Tragedians say nothing about it.

¹ Il., 19: 38-9.

² Bac., 1330-3, 1354-60.

³ A. Sup., 60-7, Ag., 1142, et al., oft.

⁴ S. El., 150-2; Ant., 823-9.

⁵ Ant., 955-61.

⁶ Paus., 1: 30: 3; 1: 41: 9; 10: 48; 2: 3: 2, et al., oft. See Gardner: *New Chapters*, pp. 314, 341, 345; Hartland: *Legend of Perseus*, I, 182-228, Common.

⁷ Plato: *Phaedo*, ch. xxxi.

⁸ Phil., 726-8; Her., 854-6; And., 1254-8; Rhe., 963, 970-3; et al.

In this connection arises the interesting question as to whether a man possessed more than one soul. The Tragedians say nothing definite on this point; but Homer, though in the *Iliad*¹ he says plainly, ἐν δὲ ἓν ψυχὴ, "there is but one life within," tells us in the *Odyssey*² that Herakles' εἰδωλόν was in Erebus and himself at the feast of the gods. The Tragedians, however, hint at something of this sort, possibly in the doctrine³ of the νέμεσις, but especially in the appearance of Darius to Atossa in her dream, a real objective appearance, which his ghost when it rises does not seem to have known about.⁴ Lucian's expression,⁵ δαίμονας μακαρίτων, referring to but one dead man, may have a like import. In vase-paintings sometimes several little εἰδωλά flutter about one corpse or in one tomb.⁶ The appearance of Taurosthenes in a distant town,⁷ and of the phantoms of the suitors in the hall before their death,⁸ and Megara's call for the σκιά of the living Herakles,⁹ these and similar phenomena point to a detachable something that is near akin to a soul. This leads to the belief in the "external soul," of which we hear so much in modern folk-lore,¹⁰ and which was represented in Greek myth by the stories of Nisus and Meleager,¹¹ that the external soul of the one resided in the purple lock of hair which his daughter cut off, and of the other in the fire-brand which his mother caused to be burned.

✓ The majority of the dead, however, never played the part of ghosts nor wandered into other bodies. What, then, became of them? There was always a vague feeling, the result of a materializing philosophy, that the dead, even if still sustaining a sort of life of their own so as actually to feel the weight

¹ *Il.*, 21: 569, *L. L. M.*² *Od.*, 11: 601-3.³ *S. El.*, 1466-7.⁴ *Per.*, 187-8, 681-93.⁵ *Lucian: De Luctu*, 24.⁶ See *Roscher*, II, illustrations on pp. 1150, 1147.⁷ *Paus.*, 6: 9: 3.⁸ *Od.*, 20: 355-6.⁹ *H. M.*, 494-5.¹⁰ *Frazer: Golden Bough*, II, 339.¹¹ *Cho.*, 613-22, 604-12; *Paus.*, 1: 19: 4; 10: 31: 3, 4.

of mould upon them,¹ were unconscious and forgetful of earth,² σποδόν τε καὶ σκιάν ἀνωφελῆ; and Iwanowitsch³ remarks that they rarely answered prayers addressed to them. But affection and fear, though operating from different causes, both militated strongly against these notions. Homer⁴ is not clear on this point and his statements are often contradictory; but the Tragedians have much to say, though their expressions are not always quite consistent. The ghost of Darius⁵ remembers perfectly all that happened up to the time of his death, but, like some of Odysseus' interlocutors, nothing further; and his famous prophetic power seems to have been simply his recollection of the oracles he had heard before dying, the import of which he now by the light of current events begins to understand. The ghost of Clytaemnestra,⁶ however, is keenly alive to all that is going on, her perceptive faculties having become only sharper through death; and this seems to accord with the general belief.⁷ The dead, if they were not conscious of mundane things, could at least be informed of them through prayer.⁸ Sophocles⁹ tells us that they received news through φάμα, and Euripides¹⁰ sometimes speaks of them as of dwellers in a distant land learning of things on earth by the arrival of new-comers, and criticising the actions of the living.¹¹ They were supposed to take pleasure in monuments erected in their honor, and by some considered their due,¹² and in return the

¹ *Alc.*, 463-4; *Hel.*, 852-4.² *S. El.*, 1159, 1170; *Cho.*, 517; *Tro.*, 606-7; *O. C.*, 955, *et al.*, oft.³ *Iwanowitsch*, pp. 65-6; list of refs. for prayers unanswered.⁴ *Od.*, 10: 491-5; 11 *passim*; *et al.*⁵ *Per.*, 715-38.⁶ *Eum.*, 94-139.⁷ *Ant.*, 542, 65-6; *S. El.*, 400; *O. C.*, 1774-5; *Or.*, 674-5.⁸ *Cho.*, 4-5, 315-23, 332-40, *et al.*, oft. See *Iwanowitsch*, pp. 39-65, *passim*.⁹ *S. El.*, 1066-7.¹⁰ *Hec.*, 422-3; *Her.*, 320-1; *et al.*¹¹ *Hec.*, 136-40.¹² *Hec.*, 319-20; *Kaibel*, 7, 2, 3, 4, 10, *et al.*

pious donors received benefits, as from the tombs of Oedipus at Athens and of Solon at Salamis.¹

But whether conscious of the present or not, they were generally mindful of what had happened on earth;² and though sometimes ready to lend aid, as when Orestes and Oedipus promise to help the Athenians³—though Iwanowitsch⁴ compares such aid to that from modern relics—or at least to give gift for gift,⁵ as the gods did, yet they were most often thought of as ready for vengeance; as when Herakles threatens Hyllus, if he does not fulfil his wishes,⁶

εἰ δὲ μή, μὲν ὧς ἐγὼ
καὶ νέρθεν ὡν ἀραῖος εἰσαεὶ βαρύνει.

and they were most often invoked to aid⁷ in some vengeful scheme, as when Electra prays,

τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις
λέγω φανῆναί σου, πάτερ, τιμᾶρον.

The dead had various ways of expressing their displeasure. The best known, of course, was by sending the Erinyes to avenge murder, as in the *Eumenides* and the *Orestes*. But when these were not in order, they had other means, such as secretly shedding the blood of their victim,⁸ or causing open disaster, as did the drowned Myrtilus,⁹ or by arousing frenzy and vague fears at night.¹⁰ But their special method of annoyance was by the sending of bad dreams:¹¹

ταρῶς γὰρ ὀρθόθριζ' φόβος
δόμων ὀνειρόμαντις, ἐξ ὕπνου κότον

¹ Jebb: *Oed. Col.*, p. xxx.

² *S. El.*, 482-4, *et al.*, oft.

³ *Eum.*, 767-74, 598; *O. C.*, 411, 1520-5; *Her.*, 1030-6.

⁴ *Iwanowitsch*, p. 51.

⁵ *Cho.*, 93-5; *et al.*

⁶ *Trach.*, 1201-2; *Ag.*, 345-7; *Cho.*, 324-6; *Eum.*, 768-71; *S. El.*, 495-8; *et al.*, oft.

⁷ *Cho.*, 142-3; *E. El.*, 677-84; *E. Sup.*, 1143-5; *et al.*

⁸ *S. El.*, 1419-23.

⁹ *S. El.*, 508-15; *Ag.*, 345-7.

¹⁰ *Cho.*, 286-8, 293-4.

¹¹ *Cho.*, 32-41, 523-50; *S. El.*, 459-60.

πνέων, ἁωρόνυκτον ἄμβλαμα
μυχόθεν ἔλακε περὶ φόβῳ,
γυναικείουσιν ἐν δώμασιν βαρὺς πίτνων.
κριταὶ τε τῶνδ' ὀνειράτων
θεόθεν ἔλακον ἰπέγγνοι
μέμφεσθαι τοῖς γὰρ νέρθεν περιθύμως
τοῖς κτανούσι τ' ἐγκοτεῖν.

Indeed, dreams, whether good or bad, as well as their fulfilment, were under the control of the dead, and to the dead prayers concerning them were made.¹ This was part of their general gift of prophecy² which they may have acquired from their close connection with earth, *τὴν* *πρωτόμαντιν Γαίαν*; ³ and even the dying,⁴ like Cassandra and several of Homer's heroes, had by anticipation the same gift.

Except for these new powers of prophecy and vengeance, the life after death, as far as character and occupation went, differed little from that on earth. Aristophanes' line on Sophocles is well known,⁵

ὁ δ' εὐκολος μὲν ἐνθάδ', εὐκολος δ' ἐκεῖ,

as is his description of the lower world in the same play. Achilles,⁶ the noblest of the living, is still the noblest of the dead,

Ἀχιλλέως, ὃς μετὰ ζώντων ὄτ' ἦν
ἦκον ἄριστα, νῦν δὲ τῶν τεθνηκότων.

Amphiaraus still reigns *ὑπὸ γαίης*, as do Darius and Agamemnon.⁷ Polyxene⁸ asks to die free, so that having been a princess she may not be a slave *ἐν νεκροῖσι*. Cassandra prophesies on the banks of Cocytus and Acheron.⁹ Enmity did not

¹ *Per.*, 219-43; *Paus.*, 4: 26: 8.

² *Rohde: Psyche*, pp. 198-9, note.

³ *Eum.*, 2.

⁴ *Ag.*, 1317-9; *et al.*

⁵ *Arist. Frogs*, 82.

⁶ *Phil.*, 1312-3; *Od.*, 11: 484-6.

⁷ *S. El.*, 837-41; *Per.*, 691; *Cho.*, 356-60; *Od.*, 11: 568-71.

⁸ *Hec.*, 547-52.

⁹ *Ag.*, 1160-1; *Od.*, 11: 90-6; see also *Ag.*, 1528; *Od.*, 11: 572-5.

cease with life, though Antigone argues that it should.¹ Even bodily defects were retained, especially the wounds which had caused death, so these were carefully closed and bound up;² and for a like reason Oedipus blinds himself³ that he may not see his murdered father in Hades:

ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὁμμασιν ποίους βλέπων
πατέρα ποτ' ἂν προσείδον εἰς Ἅιδου μολῶν
οὐδ' αὖ τάλαιναν μητέρα, οἷν ἐμοὶ δυοῖν
ἐργ' ἐστὶ κρείσσον' ἀγχόνης εἰργασμένα.

Of course it was but natural that friends should meet again, and such scenes may be depicted on the tombstones,⁴ but we are not certain. Philoctetes⁵ speaks of going to search for his father in Hades; Aias' last words⁶ are that he will tell his griefs to those κάτω; Creon⁷ bids Antigone,

κάτω νῦν ἐλθοῦσ', εἰ φίλητέον, φίλει
κείνους.

and she expresses a hope of meeting her parents and brother there.⁸ Admetus⁹ even bids Alcestis prepare a home for him against his coming. But of all the pictures of meeting in the lower world, that one, though intended to be taken ironically, of the little Iphigeneia running to meet her father¹⁰ is by far the most gracious:

ἀλλ' Ἰφιγένειά νιν ἀσπασίως
θυγάτηρ, ὡς χρεή,
πατέρ' ἀντιάσασα πρὸς ὠκύπορον
πύρρ' ἀχέων
περὶ χεῖρε βαλοῦσα φιλήσει.

In early times, when retribution followed swift on wrong-

¹ *Ant.*, 514-24.

² *E. El.*, 1227-8; *et al.*, *oft.*

³ *O. T.*, 1371-4; *Eum.*, 103.

⁴ *Conze: Att. Grab.*, *Pl.*, 48-51, *et al.*

⁵ *Phil.*, 1210-1.

⁶ *Ai.*, 865.

⁷ *Ant.*, 524-5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 897-901.

⁹ *Alc.*, 363-4; see *Hel.*, 836-7; *E. El.*, 1144-6; *Tro.*, 1234.

¹⁰ *Ag.*, 1555-9.

doing, when man took summary vengeance and the gods were supposed to do the same, there was little need of relegating punishment to the future life. The mere necessity of dying was a sufficient punishment in itself,¹ and so became a purifying agency to the soul. In Homer, severity was visited only on special offenders against the gods, like Tityus and Tantalus and Sisyphus,² and not on merely moral delinquents; with the exception however of perjurers, whom Zeus and the other gods punished in the underworld:³

οἱ ὑπέρτερθε καμύντας
ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ἑμύσση.

As civilization and especially philosophy advanced, the punishment of evil-doers receded more and more into the future life, so that Pausanias⁴ remarks that in his age "on the wicked the wrath of the gods falls late and on those who have departed hence." The Tragedians were beginning to realize that not only many wrong acts besides perjury escaped detection on earth, but that there were crimes for which no earthly punishment, not even death, was sufficient, such as the murder of a near relative or a suppliant. The King of Argos says to the suppliant daughters of Danaus:⁵

ἐκδόντες ἡμᾶς τὸν πανώλεθρον θεὸν
βαρὴν ξίνοικον θησόμεσθ' ἀλάστορα,
ὃς οὐδ' ἐν Ἅιδου τὸν θάνατον ἔλενθεροῖ.

Electra not very graciously tells her mother,⁶

κακῶς ὄλοι, μηδέ σ' ἐκ γόων ποτὲ
τῶν νῦν ἀπαλλάξειαν οἱ κάτω θεοί.

And the Erinyes assure Apollo concerning Orestes,⁷

ὑπὸ τε γὰρ φυγῶν οὐ ποτ' ἐλευθεροῦνται
ποτιτρόπαιος ὧν δ' ἕτερον ἐν κάρῃ
μιάστορ' εἰσιν οὐ πάσεται.

¹ See p. 18, n. 5, for refs.

² *Od.*, 11: 576-625.

³ *Il.*, 3; 278-9; 19: 259-60. *Iwanowitsch* denies this and emends these lines.

⁴ *Paus.*, 8: 2: 5.

⁵ *A. Sup.*, 414-6.

⁶ *S. El.*, 291-2; *Eum.*, 95-6.

⁷ *Eum.*, 175-7, 340.

On the other hand, special favorites of the gods, like Herakles or Helen, were taken to heaven or some other blissful abode,¹ though many of them were by no means exemplary characters. Moral heroism, the passive heroism of suffering, seems to have had its first really great representative in the Alcestis of Euripides; and her reward is simply to be brought back to earth.

The Greeks of the Vth century had not succeeded in drawing a very distinct line between the good and the bad, especially with reference to retribution in the life to come. As late as Euripides it was possible to say,²

τοὺς εὐγενεῖς γὰρ οὐ στυγούσι δαίμονες,
τῶν δ' ἀναρεθμήτων μᾶλλον εἰσι οἱ πόνοι,

the "nobles" in contrast to the "herd" being favored even in the other world. But the active and aggressive minds of the Greeks were not content with being wholly the playthings of fate. That there must be some means of influencing the future and unseen world by the present and visible, was felt in very early times. In Homer's day this influence seemed to be exerted by the dead body over the departed soul, and proper burial rites insured a happy passage to the land of shades, while their neglect condemned the soul to perpetual wandering.³ How deeply this feeling—for in historical times it could have been nothing more—was engrafted in the very fibre of the Greek soul, is seen in the insistence on at least a formal burial, such as that for which Antigone was ready to sacrifice her life;⁴ in the laws lasting into late times concerning the burial of strangers washed up by the sea or otherwise found;⁵ and in the much-practiced custom of adoption⁶ by which a man secured proper burial and the subsequent offerings and attentions at his tomb. This idea must have entered the Hellenic

¹ See p. 41, n. 8, for refs.

² *Hel.*, 1678-9.

³ *Od.*, 11: 51-6.

⁴ *Sep.*, 1026-41; *et al.*

⁵ *Paus.*, 2: 1: 3; 10: 5: 4; *et al.*

⁶ *Gardner and Fevons*, p. 550.

mind while it was still in an early and formative stage. But as the Greeks grew more spiritual in their ideas, and recognized the soul as not the possession but the master of the body, they perceived that some action by the soul itself before death was necessary to insure future happiness. This gave rise to the Mysteries and to much of the teaching of the early philosophers, to say nothing of the strolling priests whom Plato¹ criticises as "persuading not only private persons but even cities that forsooth there are purifications and cleansings from unrighteousness through sacrifices and childish pleasures, not only for the living but even for the dead, which they call the Mysteries" of Musaeus and Orpheus, "which will release us from evils there; but for those who do not sacrifice terrible things are waiting." At Athens these sacrifices and purifications took a definite and regulated form in the Eleusinian Mysteries, of whose great influence we have spoken above,² and initiation into them, which was in general open to all, was considered the key to future blessedness.³ Plato again criticises this point of view, ὥσπερ δὲ λέγεται⁴ κατὰ τῶν μεμνημένων, ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον μετὰ τῶν θεῶν διάγουσα, *sc.* ψυχή. Sophocles says:⁵

ὥς τρις δόβιοι
κεῖνοι βροτῶν οἱ ταῦτα δερχθέντες τέλη
μόλουσ' ἐς "Αἶδον" τοῖς δὲ γὰρ μόνοις ἐκεῖ
ζῆν ἔστι, τοῖς ἄλλοις πάντ' ἐκεῖ κακά.

Kaufmann claims this as Sophocles' general belief, but Iwanowitsch says Sophocles recognizes neither reward nor punishment in the future world, and that this, therefore, is only a tribute to the Eleusianians.⁶ Kaufmann is probably right, for not only was this the belief of Aristophanes, Pindar, and others, with whom Sophocles is classed, but the expressions

¹ *Plato*: *Rep.* ii, 364-5.

² See p. 28.

³ *Phaedo*, 81 a.

⁴ See *Hym. Hom.*, 5: 480-2; *Pind. fr.* 137 β; inscr. quoted by *Kaufmann*, 2, 21.

⁵ *Soph.*, *fr.* 753.

⁶ *Iwanowitsch*, pp. 51, 53.

about the "great aether," quoted above,¹ seem to indicate two contrasting places whither the soul of man may go; and it seems probable that the division was made along the line of those *δερχθέντες τέλη*, that is, the initiated. Polygnotus' painting² is, as it were, bounded by Eleusinianism, for while friends are enjoying each other's society and men and women are carrying on their ordinary avocations or rehearsing some notable event of their lives, at one end a lady who had introduced the Mysteries into one of the islands is receiving honor therefor, and at the other those who had mocked the Mysteries are being punished.

We learn, then, from the Tragedians of only three classes of sinners who receive punishment in the future world; the uninitiated, particular offenders against the gods, and murderers, with the last of whom traitors were probably classed, for their bodies received the same punishment of being cast out unburied.³

With Socrates and Euripides came definiteness in the new doctrine, that goodness of itself, purity of the soul, independent of external forms, was the only true path to eternal happiness. οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κακὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε ζῶντι οὔτε τελευτήσαντι, are Socrates' words;⁴ and Euripides, though narrowing the application a little, almost echoes them:⁵

ὅστις δὲ τοὺς τεκόντας ἐν βίῳ σέβει
ὃδ' ἔστι καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανὼν θεοῖς φίλος.

It is true that Plato in another place, putting into the mouth of Socrates a very similar sentiment, adds, ὥσπερ γε καὶ πάσαι λέγεται,⁶ but there is little of it known to us in the earlier literature. Euripides⁷ has not a great deal to say on this subject, but what he says is very plain:

¹ See p. 27.

² Paus. 10: 28-31.

³ O. C., 406-7; Pl. Laws, 838 b; Sep., 1013-24; et al.

⁴ Pl. Apol., 41 c; et al., oft.

⁵ E. fr. 848, ll. 1-2.

⁶ Pl. Phaedo, 63 c. See Geddes: Phaedo of Plato (1885), note on this passage. ⁷ Alc., 744-6. See Iwanowitsch, p. 72, n., for Euripides as an Orphic.

εἰ δέ τι κάκεϊ
πλέον ἔστ' ἀγαθοῖς, τούτων μετέχουσ'
Ἄιδου νύμφην παρεδρεῖναι

and the omission of any reference to the initiated as a favored class, except when Herakles somewhat jocosely assigns his having seen the Mysteries as the reason why he was able to bring up the dog,¹ is significant. As for μακάριστος, a IVth century inscription gives a man this epithet because he had saved three tribes, without any reference to initiation.²

The question whether the Greeks ever arrived at a clear belief in the immortality of the soul, is not yet settled. It is true that even on Dipylon tombstones from Athens and Eleusis we find a sort of immortality hinted at. Kaufmann³ quotes a Vth century inscription which he calls "the oldest Greek epitaph in which the soul is clearly pronounced immortal:"

κοινὸν Φερσεφόνης πᾶσιν ἔχεις θάλαμον,
σῶμα μὲν ἐνθάδε σον, Διονύσιε, γαῖα καλύπτει
ψυχὴν δὲ ἀθάνατον κοινὸς ἔχει ταμίας.

The Tragedians do not commit themselves definitely. The best that Aeschylus⁴ can say is:

τέκνον, φρόνημα τοῦ θανόντος οὐ δαμά-
ζει πυρὸς μαλερὰ γνάθος,
φαίνει δ' ὕστερον ὀργάς

and Euripides' speculation⁵ is only more vague:

ὁ νοῦς
τῶν κατθανόντων ζῇ μὲν οὐ, γνῶμην δ' ἔχει
ἀθάνατον εἰς ἀθάνατον αἰθέρ' ἐμπεσών

and elsewhere⁶ he says:

ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἔστιν ἐν ἐκάστῳ θεός

while Sophocles⁷ rather questions the whole matter:

¹ H. M., 613.

² Kaibel, 26.

³ Kum., 2784, ll. 5-7. See Kaufmann, p. 2, for further references.

⁴ Cho., 323-6.

⁵ Hel., 1014-6.

⁶ E. fr. 1007.

⁷ O. C. 998-9.

οἷς ἐγὼ οὐδὲ τὴν πατρός
ψυχὴν ἂν οἶμαι ζῶσαν ἀντειπεῖν ἔχειν

though we have seen that he speaks of the reward of the initiated as ζῆν. Pericles gives a hint in the same direction in his famous funeral oration.¹ Plato, as we may infer from passages quoted above and many others, apparently believes in immortality, but the arguments he brings forward to prove it are by no means convincing, and Cicero in the *Somnium Scipionis*, takes him to mean only a limited and by no means endless duration. Indeed, immortality is quite beyond the grasp of finite minds, and the immortality of the soul is by no means susceptible of proof; but a belief in the soul's immortality is not thereby precluded.

¹ *Plut. Peric.*, 8.

CHAPTER III

THE OTHER WORLD AND THOSE WHO DWELT THERE

SINCE it was felt that the dead were in existence somewhere, we are prepared to find much speculation as to their abode and companions.

But first a word should be said touching the journey of the soul. The journey of the body¹ to its last resting-place may have affected the phraseology; but death as a journey is too trite and too natural a figure to need justification or illustration.² It has been claimed³ that the position of the body during the prothesis, with its feet toward the door, was typical of this journey. When we remember that what testimony we have from the monuments⁴ goes to show that in the procession the body was carried head foremost, this position at the prothesis would be full of significance, did we not reflect that, whatever fancies may have grown up later, both these positions were the most natural and convenient for the purpose in hand. In Homer the journey is but a crude instinct. The souls, gibbering like bats, somehow flutter away to Erebus.⁵ Later, the likeness to birds becomes more apparent, assisted perhaps by such myths as that of Philomela, or the tradition of the Memnonides.⁶ On a Sicilian vase in the British Museum,⁷ above the head of Procris, who is just slain by Cephalus,

¹ *Alc.*, 609-10; *et al.*

² *Alc.*, 262-3; *et al. oft.*

³ *Blümner: Leben u. Sitten*, II, 76.

⁴ *Baumeister*, III, p. 1943; I, p. 727; *Gardner and Jeavons*, p. 363.

⁵ *Od.*, 24: 1-14.

⁶ *Paus.*, 10: 31: 6.

⁷ *Millingen: Ined. Mon., Ser. I, Pl.*, 14.

flies a bird with a human head. Some such idea may have been in the mind of Theseus when he says¹ of his unhappy wife:

ὄρνις γὰρ ὡς τις ἐκ χειρῶν ἀφαντος εἶ,
πήδημ' ἐς "Αἶδον κρατερὸν ὁρμήσασά μοι.

On the vases,² especially the Attic white lekythoi, above the dead person or his stele frequently flies one or more little black-winged creatures, generally held to be the soul of the departed; while on a vase from Pikrodaphni, inside the mound of a tomb four of these tiny beings are fluttering about.³ On a black-figured amphora⁴ of the VIth century in the British Museum, flying over a ship is the ghost of Patroclus furnished with large wings like those of an eagle. A bird is also sometimes offered⁵ at a tomb or flies⁶ over it.

This little soul, curiously enough, becomes confused with the child Eros,⁷ and may be the prototype of the Nike-Eros⁸ which appears on late hero-chapel and Persephone vases. The interesting question arises whether the dual meaning of the word ψυχή, soul and butterfly, had anything to do with the attribution of wings to the soul; but ψυχὴ meaning butterfly is not found in early writers, and may be a late development; and Passow tells us that its accent was possibly ψύχῃ,⁹ while Furt-

¹ *Hip.*, 828-9; *Or.*, 674-6; *E. Sup.*, 1142; *O. T.*, 175-8; *Ion*, 796.

² *Pottier*: *L. B.*, Pl. 4; *Rayet et Collignon*, pp. 233, 235 (figs. 86, 87); *Robinson*: *Cat. Gk. Vases*, p. 165; *Roscher*: *Lexikon*, II, 1150; *et al.*

³ *Athen. Mitth.*, 16, p. 379.

⁴ *Gerhard*: *Auserl. Vasen.*, Pl. 198 (1).

⁵ *Pottier*: *L. B.*, Pl. 4, p. 146 (no. 49); *Cat. Vases in Br. Mus.*, III, D 69; IV, F 336.

⁶ *Hamilton Collection*, III, 30; *Cat. Vases in Br. Mus.*, IV, F 333.

⁷ *Pottier*: *L. B.*, Pl. 2; *Roscher*, II, p. 1151 (fig.).

⁸ *Genick*: *Gr. Keramik*, Pl. 7; *Millingen*: *I. M.*, I, Pl. 16; *et al.*

⁹ *Passow*: *Wörterbuch der gr. Sprache* (1857), s. v. ψυχή, 3 and 5; see also *Liddell and Scott*, s. v. ψυχή.

wängler¹ says that the earliest known representations of Psyche, that is, in the Second and First centuries B. C., show her with the wings of a bird and not those of a butterfly. On the other hand, on a white lekythos in the British Museum² from Eretria, 420 B. C., a youth is offering in a net something that closely resembles a butterfly. And in a grave of Mycenae there was found a miniature pair of scales of gold leaf, on one of which was stamped the figure of a butterfly.³

But travelling with wings was not realistic enough for the popular mind;⁴ and just as the shadows of early demon-worship faded, and the other world approximated in its fancied appearance to this, so the modes of reaching it became more like the earthly methods of travel. In Homer, notwithstanding Odysseus' long voyage to the land of shades, the ghosts reach their final home by a swift flight through the air, and Charon and his boat are unknown. The grim ferryman dates probably from the time when the Greeks exchanged their war vessels for merchant ships, and is first mentioned in the *Minyad*.⁵ The myth must have originated among the lower classes and worked its way up into literature; for though firmly established in the VIth century,⁶ neither Aeschylus nor Sophocles makes any clear allusion to it.

Aeschylus, however, speaks of πόρθμενυ' ἄχτων, the ferry of woes,⁷ and in a beautiful passage⁸ describes a sail boat wafted by a chorus of sighs,

ὅς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβεται
τὰν ναῦστολον μελάγκροκον θεωρίδα,
τὰν ἀστεύβῃ πύλλωνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον,
πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον.

¹ *Furtwängler*: *Col. Sab.*, n. on Pl. 135; see *Creuzer*: *Symbolik*, IV, pp. 173-5, for story of Psyche w. refs.; *Gubernatis*: *Zoöl. Myth.*, II, 213-4, but no refs.

² Numbered D 54. ³ *Tsountas and Manatt*, p. 105.

⁴ Souls without wings: *Mon. Ined.*, II, 10 B; *Gerhard*: *Auserl. Vasen.*, 215; *et al.*

⁵ *Roscher*, s. v. Charon, arguing from *Paus.* 10: 28: 2.

⁶ *Pottier*: *L. B.*, p. 44, w. refs.

⁷ *Ag.*, 1558; transl. "ford" by *Verrall*.

⁸ *Sep.*, 856-60.

On the Dipylon monumental vases often appears a ship,¹ which is variously interpreted, but which, together with the tombstone relief of the warrior Democles,² may well have had some reference to this *θεωρίς* of souls, and this sacred vessel in its turn to that other which in legendary times carried the sorrowful Cretan sacrifice, and during whose annual absence no condemned soul might be sent forth from earth.³

In Euripides we hear not only of the voyage,⁴ but of Charon himself with his boat,⁵ which is always a rowboat,

τᾶν δ' ἀνόστιμον τέκνων
Χάρωνος ἐπιμένει πλάτα.

Though the boat is often called two-oared,⁶ on the vases the ferryman stands holding but one oar,⁷ or rather pole, *κοντός*,⁸ much as the ferryman of to-day does on the shallow English rivers. In the *Alcestis*⁹ he is a rude, impatient fellow, appearing before the eyes of the dying lady, with Thanatos instead of with his usual companion Hermes, and calling to her to hasten. The obolos for his *ναῦλον*¹⁰ is not mentioned by any of the Tragedians, and by the testimony of the cemeteries¹¹ was of very rare occurrence in early and classical Attica.

But since for the living the most natural mode of travel was by land, on foot or horseback, in this way too the dead were generally pictured as journeying to their distant home; and Hermes,¹²

κῆρυξ μέγιστε τῶν ἀνῶ τε καὶ κάτω,

¹ Brueckner und Pernice, pp. 152-3.

² Conze, *Pl.* 122.

³ *Pl. Phaedo*, 58 a, b.

⁴ *I. A.*, 667-9; *H. M.*, 427.

⁵ *H. M.*, 431-2.

⁶ *Alc.*, 252, 444; *Paus.*, 10: 28: 1.

⁷ *Alc.*, 361; *Dumont et Chaplain: Cér.*, I, *Pl.* 34; *Baumeister*, I, p. 378; *Gardner: Sc. Tombs Hel.*, p. 31; *Pottier: L. B.*, *Pl.* 3; *Lecuyer: Terres Cuites Ant.*, I, *Pl.* T2.

⁸ *Alc.*, 254; *et al.*

⁹ *Alc.*, 252-6.

¹⁰ *Lucian: De Luctu*, 9.

¹¹ Brueckner u. Pernice, pp. 187-8.

¹² *Cho.*, 165 (placed after 123 in *Weil's* text).

was both protector of travellers and guide of departing souls.¹ His earliest office in this latter connection, was that of giver of sleep; to him in Homeric times² the last libations before going to rest were poured; on him Aias calls³ to lull him to the sleep of death,

καλῶ δ' ἄμα
πομπάλων Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον εὖ με κοιμίσαι.

and probably the line,⁴

σέ τοι κικλήσκω τὸν αἰένυπνον,

is addressed to him, if *αἰένυπνον*⁵ rather than *αἰὲν ὑπνον*,⁶ be the correct reading. In the late twenty-fourth book of the *Odyssey*, when Sleep and Death have become recognized as brothers, Hermes uses his sleep-inducing wand to lead the souls of the suitors to Hades⁷ and becomes their guide and helper, *ἀκάκητα*. In the Tragedians, as guide, *πομπός*, *πομπάλως*, he comes with Persephone to lead away the soul,⁸ or with Hades receives it;⁹ and to meet Hermes is to die,

κίχάνει δέ νιν Ἑρμῆς,

as was said of the slain Nisus.¹⁰ It is he who with the other chthonian gods brings or sends up the shades¹¹ and with them or in their stead helps to vengeance for murder.¹²

The question arises whether the Chthonian Hermes is identical with the Olympian Hermes. In Homer he probably is; but in the Tragedians, the evidence seems to be that he is

¹ See *Iwanowitsch*, pp. 99-100, for epithets of Hermes in the Tragedians.

² *Od.*, 7: 136-8; *Il.*, 24: 445; see *Buchholz*, III. b, 293 and refs.

³ *Ai.*, 831-2.

⁴ *O. C.*, 1578; see below.

⁵ *Hermann* (1827), *Mitchell* (1844), *Wunder* (1832), *et al.*

⁶ *Brunck* (1822), *Reisig* (1823), *Schneider* (1826), *Blaydes* (1859), and most editors.

⁷ *Od.*, 24: 1-10; see *G. Perrot: Rel. de la Mort*, p. 108, n.

⁸ *O. C.*, 1547-8.

⁹ *Alc.*, 743-4.

¹⁰ *Cho.*, 622.

¹¹ *Cho.*, 124-6; *Per.*, 629.

¹² *Cho.*, 1-2, 727; *S. El.*, 110-8; *Cho.*, 124-7.

not. In the latter, Hermes, son of Maia, is once invoked,¹ not however as *χθόνιος* or *πομπός*, but for the quite earthly protection of Orestes in his wily scheme of vengeance; while the Hermes of the dead is almost always designated by one of these epithets.² Plato³ makes Socrates, when about to die, speak of going *παρὰ θεῶν ἄλλων*, as if a different set of gods existed in the other world; and furthermore, on a red-figured stamnos⁴ in the Vatican we find both forms of Hermes together, the Olympian and the Chthonian, engaged in conversation. In view of this, the *Γᾶς παῖ καὶ Ταρτάρου*⁵ may very well be the god whose function is to fly forever between earth and Hades; he it is who, as the Argus-slayer, could most readily still the fierce Cerberus, and as god of sleep could give eternal sleep; and lastly, since Hermes *πομπός* and *ἡ νεκρέρα θεός* are supposed to be standing close at hand (l. 1548), and the prayer begins to the latter (l. 1556), not only would the final invocation to Hermes complete the chiasmic arrangement so dear to the Greek heart, but there would, on the other hand, be something very strange, after calling upon all the chief *χθόνιοι*, in omitting Hermes, one of the most important, and one who, besides, is supposed to be present. That the lines could not be addressed to Thanatos⁶ is clear from the fact that he has a different genealogy, that he is never called upon in the Tragedians to give sleep, that he apparently never himself descends into Hades and therefore would have nothing to do with the dog, and that the miraculous departure of Oedipus would make a prayer to Thanatos singularly inappropriate.

On the sepulchral reliefs⁷ and vases,⁸ the dead man is often

¹ *S. El.*, 1395-7. ² See refs. above. ³ *Pl. Phaedo*, 63b.

⁴ *Gerhard: Auserl. Vasen.*, Pl. 240 (1); see (2) also.

⁵ *O. C.*, 1574-8.

⁶ The Scholiasts are divided as to who is meant; see *Mitchell's Sophocles* (1844), note to ll. 1574, 1578. For Thanatos see below, p. 65 ff.

⁷ *Conze, Pl.* 90, 92 (no. 380), 131 (no. 682), *et al.*

⁸ *Passerii*, II, 182; *Hamilton Col.*, II, 15; III, 33; *et al.*

represented in the hat and cloak of a traveller, sometimes with the addition of spear and shield,¹ and occasionally accompanied by his little slave to carry them, a *motif* that clearly points to the journey of death with its attendant dangers. Beside the youth often stands his horse,² which further emphasizes the journey he is to take, and is, like the traveller's hat and cloak, in a measure a symbol of death. The horse in its chthonian relations played a large part on the tombstone reliefs of the Spartans;³ and a favorite Homeric⁴ epithet for Hades was *κλυτόπῳλος*, Hades of the goodly steeds, probably with reference to the rape of Persephone. Demeter, too, in her Eleusinian, that is, her chthonian character, in Arcadia is closely connected with horses.⁵ Pausanias⁶ gives the legendary account of the burial of two horses with Marmax; and Euripides⁷ speaks of the sacrifice of a horse at the tomb as an Egyptian custom. We remember the horses slain at the pyre of Patroclus;⁸ and the bones of horses have been found in early graves.⁹ All of which shows that the horse was the animal that was, except perhaps the serpent, most closely connected with the dead.

There is one whole series of monuments¹⁰ of a little later date, in which horses play a conspicuous part, the large funeral vases of the IVth century adorned with the so-called marriage scenes, in which the bride and groom are typified by Persephone and Hades. It is more likely however that

¹ *Conze, Pl.* 49, 88 (no. 366), 93, 147 (no. 627), *et al.*

² *Conze, Pl.* 216, 218, 219; *Hamilton Col.*, II, 26; *Passerii*, II, 190; III, 267; *et al.*

³ *Furtwängler*, in *Athen. Mitth.*, 1882.

⁴ *Il.*, 5: 654, *et al.*; see *Autenrieth's Homeric Dictionary*, s. v.

⁵ *Paus.*, 8: 25: 4, 7-10; 8: 42. ⁶ *Paus.*, 6: 21: 7.

⁷ *Hel.*, 1258.

⁸ *Il.*, 23: 171-2.

⁹ *Tsountas and Manatt*, p. 152, *et al.*

¹⁰ The "Apulian Vases" of the IVth century.

the carrying away of the soul by death is intended. For some reason, perhaps because of the migration from one home to another implied in both, perhaps because of the contrast between the marriage festivity and the funeral mournfulness, perhaps because of some forgotten mysticism reaching back into barbaric times, the Greeks were fond of coupling marriage and death together. To give *ἀντὶ γάμοιο τάφον* is a favorite threat in the *Odyssey*;¹ and Diomedes' taunt to the amorous Paris² that he should have "more birds than women around him," and the sad remark³ concerning the slain, that "they were lying upon the earth much dearer to vultures than to their wives," both point by irony to death as a sort of marriage. In Dipylon times we find the loutrophoros—an amphora with a long neck and tall handles especially consecrated to carrying water for the bridal bath—appearing in great numbers upon tombs, and having always a marriage or a funeral scene painted upon it.⁴ A funeral scene on a marriage vessel would have been of evil omen;⁵ consequently vases thus adorned must have been intentionally prepared for the tomb, and the presumption is strong that those with wedding scenes were made for the same purpose. And since these are the only two sorts of scenes hitherto discovered, it naturally follows that wedding scenes must have been considered peculiarly appropriate as a variant for funeral scenes, and therefore full of meaning. Loutrophoroi on tombs were common at all periods in Athens;⁶ and in Demosthenes' time had apparently become the sign that the deceased was unmarried.⁷ That this however could not always have been its general signification on Athenian tombs, we must conclude from the inscriptions⁸

¹ *Od.*, 20: 307; *et al.*

² *Il.*, 11: 395.

³ *Il.*, 11: 161-2.

⁴ Collignon, in *Amer. Jour. Arch.*, X, p. 407.

⁵ See above, p. 22.

⁶ Brueckner u. Pernice, pp. 145-6.

⁷ *Demos.*, 1086, 18; if the reading and our understanding of it be correct.

⁸ *C. I. A.*, II, 3, 1731.

and reliefs on the tombstones themselves. For instance, one stele¹ shows a loutrophoros between two sphinxes, and above, a relief representing two men, both named, apparently father and son. On another, a stone loutrophoros,² we find in the relief three men, one of them quite old, and a woman, all named, apparently a family group. On still another,³ there is an elderly man clasping the hand of a young lady; the difference in their ages makes the relationship of brother and sister unlikely; the lady must be either the wife or the daughter of the man. On another stele⁴ we find what is certainly a family group: a lady sitting with her child beside her clasping the hand of her husband who is dressed for a journey, while behind him stands his old father; below is a Siren beating her head, while at the bottom is a loutrophoros whose lip and handles were probably painted. All of these and many similar ones are from the Vth and IVth centuries at Athens. In the Tragedians the connecting of marriage and death becomes very marked. Not only is the dwelling of the dead frequently referred to as *θάλαμος*, "bridal chamber," or *μυλός*, which is almost invariably the women's apartments, but Antigone calls her tomb,⁵ *ὡ νυμφεῖον*, "bridal chamber," and says she will be married to Acheron⁶ (here standing for Hades) *Ἀχέροντι νυμφεύσω*; Creon advises⁷ Haemon to let *τὴν παῖδ' ἐν Ἀΐδου τήνδε νυμφεῖν τινί*. But to whom did he refer as *τινί*? Certainly not to his son, though we might infer that the latter was the groom from the messenger's words⁸ a little later, when he finds him dead beside Antigone,

τὰ νυμφικὰ
τέλη λαχὼν δέϊλαιος εἰν Ἀΐδου δόμοις.

¹ *Conze, Pl.* 214 (no. 1074).

² *Conze, Pl.* 130 (no. 728).

³ *Conze, Pl.* 56 (no. 208).

⁴ *Conze, Pl.* 94 (no. 383).

⁵ *Ant.*, 891.

⁶ *Ant.*, 816; *I. A.*, 1399.

⁷ *Ant.*, 654; *Hec.*, 612.

⁸ *Ant.*, 1240-1; *Tro.*, 445; *Med.*, 985.

The bridegroom was Hades:

*Αἰδὸς γὰρ ὡς ἔοικε νυμφεύσει τέχῃ,

Agamemnon says¹ of his daughter; and later² he exclaims,

πρὶν *Αἰδὸς παῖδ' ἔμην προσθῶ,

προσθῆναι being the technical term for giving in marriage and so employed by Polyxene,³ *Αἰδὸς προσθῆναι ἔμην δέμας. Such expressions were used not merely of maidens but of married women as well; *Αἰδὸν νεμρίον ἐκτεταμένη, says Pylades⁴ of Helen; and they were used even of men, for Megara, after naming the brides she would have chosen for her sons, continues:

μεταβαλὼσα δ' ἢ τέχῃ
νόμφας μὲν ἱγάν Κήρος ἀντέδωκε ἔχειν,
ἔμοι δὲ δάκρυα λυγρὰ· δίαστῆρος φρεσὶν.
πατὴρ δὲ πατὴρ ἐστι γάμος δέος,
*Αἰδὸν νομῶν πειθερὸν, κῆδος περὶν.⁵

Hecate, as was fitting at the soul-marriage, carried the torch;

δεδοῖσ' ὦ *Εκάτα φῶς,
παρθένων ἐπὶ λίκτρος, ἃ νόμος ἔχει,

says Cassandra.⁶ The myrtle, too, which was especially sacred to Aphrodite, belonged equally to death, and was laid on graves;⁷ and Aphrodite herself had a close connection with tombs and the underworld.⁸ The later epigrams in the *Anthology*⁹ have much that is pathetic to say about the bride of Hades; but we have an early Attic inscription,¹⁰ one from the VIth century, that is instructive:

Σῆμα Φυλακείας· κόρη κεκληρόμαι αἰεὶ,
ἀντὶ γάμου παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο λαχούσ' ὄνομα.

She was to be called Kore forever. Now Kore, the Maid, was

¹ *I. A.*, 461.

² *Hec.*, 368.

³ *H. M.*, 480-4; *Ant.*, 1204-5.

⁴ *Kohde*, p. 204, n. 2. See *Alc.*, 172.

⁵ *Parnell*, II, p. 652; refs. on pp. 754, 653, 699.

⁶ *Palatine Anthology*, *Bk. VII*, *Ep.* 13, 182, et al.

⁷ *I. A.*, 540.

⁸ *Or.*, 1109.

⁹ *Trø.*, 323-4.

¹⁰ *Kaisel*, 6.

the favorite name for the mystic bride of Hades, oft-received, snatched away unwilling from the bright earth to his gloomy abode. We are hardly going too far when we see in Kore the type, the mystic representation of every departed soul. If this be so, at once the connection between marriage and death becomes clear and fitting, and the loutrophoros with its wedding scenes finds its most enduringly appropriate place upon the tomb. The magnificent Apulian vases¹ mentioned above probably served the same purpose and were manufactured with this end in view. They are large and heavy amphorae with a wealth of adornment; and though they present a great variety of subjects, it is likely that all refer more or less directly to death. Many represent the "deified dead" standing or sitting inside a small heroön,² sometimes with the attribute or name of some hero attached, while, outside, friends are bringing offerings of all sorts. Others represent daily occupations, a *motif* frequent on tombstone reliefs and the white lekythoi. But many are of the so-called marriage scenes.³ The general scheme is the four-horse chariot in which stands Hades with one arm around Persephone, who turns to bid farewell to her mother; Hermes and, frequently, Dionysus accompany the chariot, and Hecate awaits it with torches. Sometimes Nike-Eros flies above. These, as we have seen, all except possibly the last, belong to the chthonian cycle, and it is much more natural and Hellenic to see in these a variation of the scheme of the "deified dead," than the apotheosis of some human wedding, which could far better be typified by an Olympian or heroic bridal, than by that of the sinister powers of decay and oblivion. Of rarer occurrence, but con-

¹ The finest collection of these is in Gk. Vase Room 4 of Br. Mus.

² *Gerhard*, *Ap. Vaseb.*, *Pl. B*; *Rayet et Collignon*, *Pl. 12*; *H. M.*, 481.

³ *Mon. Ined.*, VI, *Pl. 42 B*; *Millingen*, *Ined. Mon.*, I, 16; *Gerhard*, *Antic. Vaseb.*, *Pl. 240* (2), 250 (typical). See also *Gerhard*, *Pl. 313* (1 and 2), 313 (2); et al.

veying the same fundamental idea is the carrying away¹ of the soul of Herakles by Athene, or of a youth by Nike;² or even, by Laius, of Chrysippus,³ whose early and pathetic death would make his abduction an especially appropriate subject. And, still more in point, on a late vase we find Nike driving through the air in her four-horse chariot, met by Hermes and a youth, apparently the soul of the dead boy whom a lady sitting below amid her friends, is holding in her arms.⁴

But among the populace, whose tendency is always to make things concrete, Persephone stood out as a distinct figure. In Homeric times, befitting the age, she is gloomy, the august, ἀγανὴ Περσεφόνη, who sends up ghosts, εἰδωλα,⁵ and takes understanding from the dead.⁶ Hers is the grove of the sad willows and poplars,⁷ and it was from fear of her that Odysseus at last hurriedly departed from Hades.⁸ On the Dipylon tombs, the house of the dead is hers, δῶμα Περσεφόνης,⁹ κοινὸν Περσεφόνης πᾶσιν ἐχεις θάλαμον.¹⁰ Likewise in the Tragedians, she receives the dead,¹¹ who are hers by lot,¹² and she has the power to send them back if she wishes.¹³ To her Electra prays for help in vengeance,¹⁴ and it is to her that Macaria is offered.¹⁵ But though dread and powerful, she is not—perhaps owing to the influence of the Mysteries—a repulsive being; on the contrary, Euripides¹⁶ calls her καλλίπαις ἡνάσσα and τὴν χρυσοστέφανον κόραν; and to her in common with her mother the narcissus and crocus¹⁷ were sacred.¹⁸

¹ *Mon. Ined.*, IV, Pl. 41; *et al.*, oft. By Nike, *Passerii*, III, 276.

² *De la Borde: Col. des Vases Gr.*, I, Pl. 75; *et al.*

³ *Gerhard: Ap. Vasenb.*, Pl. 6.

⁴ *Passerii*, III, 274.

⁵ *Od.*, 10: 494-5.

⁶ *Od.*, 11: 634-5.

⁷ *Kaibel*, 35, ll. 3-4.

⁸ *Or.*, 963-4.

⁹ *Cho.*, 490.

¹⁰ *Or.*, 964; *Ion*, 1085.

¹¹ See *Iwanowitsch*, pp. 93-5, for epithets of Persephone.

¹² *Od.*, 11: 213.

¹³ *Od.*, 10: 509-11.

¹⁴ *Kum.*, 426.

¹⁵ *Ant.*, 893-4; *Alc.*, 851-2; *O. C.*, 1547-8.

¹⁶ *Rhe.*, 962-5; *Alc.*, 357-9.

¹⁷ *Her.*, 408-9, 600-1.

¹⁸ *O. C.*, 681-5.

The name of Hades is of frequent occurrence whether as a god or a place. But first let us consider Thanatos, a sort of double or offshoot of Hades, or rather of Hermes. That he had no altars and received no gifts,

μόνος θεῶν γὰρ Θάνατος οὐ δῶρων ἐρᾷ
οὐδ' ἄν τι θύων οὐδ' ἐπισπένδων ἄνιος,
οὐδ' ἐστὶ βωμός, οὐδὲ παυνίζεται,¹

shows that he was not a true cult god, but only a myth; as Buchholz² says, a personification "not of lifelessness but of the departure from life to death." In Homer the personification is only beginning,³ and finds its highest form in the beautiful picture of Sleep and Death bearing away Sarpedon's body.⁴ In the Tragedians we find the personification complete; and as Charon the rude ferryman, boorish and unkempt, is the death-myth of the populace, so Thanatos, the gentle physician, the all-powerful healer, is the death-myth of the cultured classes. When Asklepios, for meddling with the latter's prerogatives of destruction, was slain by Zeus,⁵ it would seem as if some of the virtue of the ἀμύμονος ἡγήτορος⁶ had descended on his victorious rival:

ὦ Θάνατε Παιάν, μή μ' ἀτιμῆσθαι μὲλιν,
μόνος γὰρ εἰ σὺ τῶν ἀνηκέστων κακῶν
ιατρός, ἄλγος δ' οὐδὲν ἄπτεται νεκροῦ,

says Aeschylus;⁷ and Sophocles:⁸

ἀλλ' ἐσθ' ὁ Θάνατος λῶστος ἱατρὸς νόσων

and Euripides,⁹

καί μοι Θάνατος Παιὼν ἐλθοι.

Macaria¹⁰ claims:

τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν
κακῶν μέγιστον φάρμακον νομίζεται.

¹ *A. fr.* 168, *Herm.*

² *Il.*, 16: 853.

³ *Alc.*, 3-4, 122-9.

⁴ *A. fr.* 250.

⁵ *Hip.*, 1373.

⁶ *Buchholz*, III. a., 317-8.

⁷ *Il.*, 16: 454.

⁸ *Il.*, 4: 194.

⁹ *S. fr.* 636.

¹⁰ *Her.*, 595-6.

Aias¹ in mental anguish calls upon him,

ὦ θάνατε θάνατε, νῦν μ' ἐπίσκεψαι μολών·

and likewise Philoctetes,² when tortured with bodily pain,

ὦ θάνατε θάνατε, πῶς αἰεὶ καλούμενος
οὕτω κατ' ἡμάρ, οὐ δύνει μολεῖν ποτε;

while the Chorus³ in *Oedipus at Colonus* call him the helper of all alike, ὁ δ' ἐπίκουρος ἰσοτέλεστος.

The Thanatos of the *Alcestis*⁴ is not at all the true Thanatos of the poets and the inscriptions, but a stage-villain introduced to be worsted by the hero Herakles. The *motif* of the play required some such character, and neither Hades, Hermes nor Charon was appropriate. Thanatos alone remained, and in one respect was eminently fitted for this part; since his work, unlike that of the others, does not take him into the lower world, but, like that of his brother Hypnos, has to do with the body rather than with the soul.⁵ Many things show this. On the vases we never find him pictured in lower world scenes, nor in company with Hades or Charon, but sometimes with Hermes,⁶ with whose office he was closely associated; he is generally employed, alone⁷ or with his brother Hypnos, in carrying away the dead⁸ or in laying them in the grave.⁹ There is nothing in either Homer or the Tragedians that does not accord with this. In the *Alcestis* he is the priest of the

¹ *Ai.*, 854.

² *Phil.*, 797-8. Why *Dindorf* does not use capitals here as in the previously quoted passage is not clear.

³ *O. C.*, 1220-3.

⁴ *Alc.*, 28-71.

⁵ *Buchholz*, III. a, 317, classes him as epichthonian.

⁶ *Gerhard: Anserl. Vasen.*, Pl. 121; *Dumont et Chaplain: Ctr. Gr. Pr.*, I, 27.

⁷ *Br. Mus. Gk. Vase E 463*, Kantharos from Nola, 400 B. C. (Rare.)

⁸ *Fahrbuch des Inst.*, 1895, Pl. 2; *Gerhard: Anserl. Vasen.*, Pl. 121; *et al.*

⁹ *Dumont et Chaplain: Ctr. Gr. Pr.*, I, Pl. 27, 29; *Robert: Thanatos*, Pl. 1, 2; *et al.*, frequent.

dead,¹ *ιερεὴ θανόντων*, who shears their locks with the sword, the servant appointed² *κτείνειν δὲ ἂν χρῆ*. *Θάνατος θυμοραϊστής*, Homer³ calls him. In the Tragedians he carries the bodies to rest,⁴ *θάνατος προφέρων σώματα τέκνων*, and lays them in the tomb,⁵

ἐπεὶ νῦν θάνατος ἐν τνφοῖς ἔχει.

and a pre-Persian inscription reads,⁶

δὲν θάνατος [δακρυ]θεὺς καθέχει.

Being to so great a degree a divinity of the upper world, it was quite within the bounds of poetic possibility that Herakles should meet and wrestle with him. He expects, with good reason, to find him hovering around the tomb⁷ to drink the blood, and it is only if unsuccessful with him, that he proposes following Alcestis to Hades and rescuing her thence, where she is out of the hands of Thanatos and in those of Persephone.⁸ But as the common conception of Thanatos was too dim and ill-defined for stage purposes, Euripides gives him a rough and boorish character, like that of Charon, but with wings and a sword, and brings him on the stage hallooing and swaggering, vaunting his power as a priest, but owning himself a servant, and by his ill-bred lack of feeling and greedy avarice richly meriting the contempt and dislike that Apollo bestows upon him. Robert says⁹ that when Alcestis sees him, she sees some one but does not know who it is. Rather, she sees two daemons and recognizes them both very clearly, Charon the boatman, who stands at his oar and calls to her;¹⁰ and the "black-browed, winged Hades," who leads her away and by his presence darkens her eyes¹¹—both offices of Hermes. In this last we see the triple character which the Alcestian Thanatos bears: that of Hermes who gives sleep to the eyes and leads the

¹ *Alc.*, 25, 74-6.

² *Alc.*, 49.

³ *Il.*, 13: 544.

⁴ *Med.*, 1111.

⁵ *O. T.*, 942.

⁶ *Kaibel*, 15, l. 2.

⁷ *Alc.*, 843-5, 1142.

⁸ *Alc.*, 850-3.

⁹ *Robert: Thanatos*, p. 35.

¹⁰ *Alc.*, 252-6.

¹¹ *Alc.*, 259-63, 47, 268-9.

soul away;¹ that of 'Αἰδᾶς ὑπ' ὀφρύσι κναναυγέσι βλέπων, and that of Thanatos himself, indicated by the wings, πετρωτός, which he wears as δαιμόνων τῷ κοιβάνῳ,² for though the daemons are often winged, the great gods are never so.³ Nowhere in the *Alcestis* is Charon confused with Thanatos, but wherever mentioned⁴ he keeps his own place as ferryman, while Thanatos takes the part usually assigned on the vases⁵ to the Chthonian Hermes, who, by the way, is mentioned only once in this drama, where with Hades in the lower world he receives Alcestis.⁶

Thanatos, then, as we have seen, heals the ills of life by releasing the soul from the body; Hermes is guardian and guide on the strange and untried journey; and Charon, replacing the latter in Euripides, ferries the souls across the river of death.

The true god of the dead was Hades; his was the house where they dwelt,⁷ his the realm through which they wandered.⁸ He was the receiver of the dead,⁹ νεκροδέγμωνος, the treasurer of souls,¹⁰ ταμίας, to whom in fierce irony Aias sends his sword also.¹¹ Because of his greed he is called φόνιος,¹² and death is compared to a net,¹³ as if like a fisherman or a hunter he goes about seeking whom he may ensnare; and only rarely and grudgingly

¹ See above, p. 56 ff.

² *Alc.*, 1140.

³ *Robert: Thanatos*, p. 34, quotes *Kaibel*, 89, l. 4, as the only other place in which Hades is called winged.

⁴ *Alc.*, 361, 439-41.

⁵ *Benndorf: Gr. u. Sic. Vasenb.*, Pl. 27. 1; *Lecuyer: Terres Cuites Ant.*, I, Pl. T2; *et al.*

⁶ *Alc.*, 743-4; the only place in *Eur.* where he is mentioned, *Iwan.*, p. 100.

⁷ *Ant.*, 804; *et al.*, oft; *ἐν* or *ἐς* 'Αἴδου is very common.

⁸ Hades is the name in the Tragedians for the whole realm of the dead.

⁹ *Pro.*, 153; *Trach.*, 1085; *et al.*, oft. See *Rohde*, p. 192.

¹⁰ *Kaibel*, 35b.

¹¹ *Ai.*, 658-60.

¹² *O. C.*, 1688; often.

¹³ *Med.*, 986-7; *Bac.*, 958; *et al.*

does he let a soul return to earth.¹ He is supreme in his own land, where he rules even χωρὶς θεῶν,² ἐν νυχτίων ἀναξ Αἰδωνεῦ,³ βασιλεὺ τ' ἐνέρων,⁴ ὁ παρὰ τὸν 'Αχέροντα θεός.⁵ There he examines concerning deeds done in the body:⁶

μέγας γὰρ 'Αἰδῆς ἐστὶν εὐθύνος βροτῶν
ἐνεργθε χθονὸς,
δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ' ἐπωπᾶ φρενί.

and like another Zeus judges crimes:⁷

κάκει δικάζει τὰμπλακῆμαθ', ὥς λόγος,
Ζεὺς ἄλλος ἐν καμοῦσιν ἱστάτας δίκας.

but he justifies the innocent,⁸ Διὸς νεκρῶν σωτήρ. Plato,⁹ as well as Pindar and Orpheus,¹⁰ insists on judgments, but gives them over into the hands of Rhadamanthys and Minos, of whom the Tragedians say nothing;¹¹ while Homer¹² gives them, as far as they go, to the Erinyes, who in the Tragedians¹³ are only helpers of Hades, as was the nether Dike¹⁴ presumably. A IVth century inscription¹⁵ mentions Sophrosyne as Hades' daughter.

In Homer, Hades is a dread and mysterious power,¹⁶ but loses dignity when he becomes anthropomorphic.¹⁷ He was never a cult god,¹⁸ except in Elis where he had once rendered service in some mythological battle.¹⁹ Though properly

¹ *Per.*, 649-51, w. 689-90; *et al.*

² *Hec.*, 2.

³ *O. C.*, 1559-60.

⁴ *Per.*, 629.

⁵ *S. El.*, 184.

⁶ *Eum.*, 273-5.

⁷ *A. Sup.*, 230-1; *O. C.*, 1606.

⁸ *Ag.*, 1387.

⁹ *Pl. Rep.*, II, 366a.

¹⁰ *Rohde*, pp. 566 ff., 420 ff., 500 ff.

¹¹ Except *Cyc.*, 273-4, which is not to the point.

¹² *Il.*, 19: 259-60; see above, p. 47, with n.3.

¹³ See below, p. 76 ff.

¹⁴ *Ant.*, 451-2.

¹⁵ *Kaibel*, 34.

¹⁶ *Od.*, 11: 277; *Il.*, 5: 845, 654; *et al.*

¹⁷ *Il.*, 20: 61-5; 5: 395-7; *et al.* See *Buchholz*, III. 2, 329-35, for the Homeric Hades; *Iwanowitsch*, pp. 90-3 for epithets in Homer and the Tragedians.

¹⁸ *Rohde*, p. 113.

¹⁹ *Paus.*, 6: 25: 2.

ἄσπονδος,¹ prayers² were made to him; and we hear in a poetic or ironic way, of his songs³ and dances.⁴ The dead were his victims;⁵ and Clytaemnestra gave Agamemnon the third blow as a votive offering to him.⁶ Like Hermes he is sometimes called upon to send the sleep of death:⁷

ὦ γλυκὺς Ἄϊδας,
ὦ Διδὺς αὐθαίμων,
εἴνασον εἴνασον ὠκυπέτα μῦρον
τὸν μέλεον φθίσας·

and:⁸

εἶθε με κοιμίσσει τὸν ὄνσδαιμον'
Ἄϊδου μέλαινα νύκτερός τ' ἀνάγκα·

but it will be seen that this is done through agents, ὠκυπέτα μῦρον and ἀνάγκα, which very probably stand for Hermes. In another instance we find him sending death by the sword given to Aias, and for this Teucer calls him the fierce workman.⁹

Hades, then, in the Tragedians is an autocrat with unlimited sway in his own dominion, greedy of sovereignty, but just in the exercise of his power, never appearing on earth, but transacting his business there by means of his ministers.

The whole realm of the dead was called Hades, or the house of Hades. Neither Homer¹⁰ nor the Tragedians were very sure whether it was situated below the ground or in the extreme west. The favorite Homeric term is Erebus,¹¹ a word of Semitic origin and meaning "evening" or "west," but rather rare in the Tragedians,¹² showing that it had no strong hold on the language. The earliest native Greek idea was probably

¹ Alc., 424.

³ Sep., 868-9; E. El., 145; et al.

⁵ Alc., 25-6, 74-6; H. M., 451-3.

⁷ Trach., 1040-2.

⁹ Ai., 1035.

¹⁰ Od., 11: 1-12; Il., 20: 61-2; see Buchholz, I. a, 49-52, 336-8.

¹¹ Il., 16: 327; et al., oft.

¹² Or., 176; et al.; Iwanowitsch, p. 89.

² O. C., 1558-64; et al.

⁴ E. Sup., 75.

⁶ Ag., 1385-7; Phoen., 1575-6.

⁸ Hip., 1387-8.

that the land of the dead was underground, as we may judge from the great "beehive" tombs built for them there, and from the fact that there was no consistency in orienting the dead, either in the Mycenæan age,¹ or in Dipylon or classical times in Athens.² As all existing hero-chapels, beginning with the famous Harpy Tomb, open to the west, and the Ionians we know were noted for burying the dead so that they might look toward the setting sun,³ it seems likely that these eastern Greeks borrowed the idea from some of their non-Hellenic neighbors and passed it on to their brethren. Homer, because of his Ionian feeling, elaborated this theory most, and perhaps, also, because it was new; but the old was still strong in men's minds. The Tragedians speak of Hades as ἐσπέριον θεοῦ,⁴ but δ κατὰ χθονὸς Ἄϊδας is a much more common term;⁵ under Orphic influence there is an inclination to place the abode of souls in the upper air.⁶ As we have seen,⁷ this realm is not a pleasant place, but secret,⁸ dark,⁹ full of groans,¹⁰ vague and dreadful.

But the Periclean Greeks were not without descriptions of the land of the dead from the hands of the poets. They had not only the *Odyssey* but the more specialized epics of the *Minyad* and the *Nosti*,¹¹ the former of which, Pausanias¹² tells us, Polygnotus followed in general in his great painting at the Lesche. These descriptions appealed to the imagination rather than to the belief of the people; as is evident from the fact that Aristophanes in the *Frogs* adheres to them much more closely than do the Tragedians. Still, some such gen-

¹ Tsountas and Manatt, pp. 97, 89.

² Brueckner u. Pernice, see Plan of the Cemetery.

³ Plut. Solon, 10.

⁵ Phoen., 810; Ai., 571; et al.

⁷ See above, p. 15.

⁹ Ai., 394; et al., oft.

¹¹ For fragments of these see Kinkel: *Epic. Graec. Frag.*, pp. 215-7, 52-6.

¹² Paus., 10: 28: 7.

⁴ O. T., 178. Cf. ἐννοχίων ἀναξ O. C., 1559.

⁶ See above, p. 26.

⁸ O. C., 1552; et al., oft.

¹⁰ Pro., 433; et al.

eral sketch must have been in the mind of the latter. In the prayer for Oedipus,¹ we have the plain of the dead, and the Stygian dwelling, and the dog growling at strangers, but in the next breath a prayer for eternal sleep. The rivers of Erebus were a striking feature well worked out by Homer,² especially the Styx, that terrible name by which the gods swore their most solemn oaths.³ The Tragedians frequently mention the Styx, Cocytus and Acheron, and Sophocles speaks of 'Αἶδα παγκοῖνον λίμνας,⁴ but their typography is by no means clear; and it is probable that the words really mean little more than woe and wailing.

In Homer, Tartarus and Erebus are carefully distinguished; the former is for overthrown gods and situated as far below Erebus as heaven is high above the earth.⁵ Aeschylus still regards Tartarus as a place of punishment for gods,⁶ but makes no clear distinction between it and Hades;⁷ nor does Sophocles,⁸ nor Euripides.⁹ Whether or not the Homeric epics teach, as Iwanowitsch holds, that there is no future punishment for mankind, the *Minyad*, followed by Polygnatus, insists strongly that there is;¹⁰ and the Tragedians hold with them. Aeschylus tells of the threats of the Furies,¹¹ of the "other Zeus" who punishes crimes,¹² and of the punishment of Sisyphus.¹³ So too Euripides tells of Tantalus and Ixion.¹⁴ They speak also very clearly of future rewards for those who are good and pious, as

¹ O. C., 1556-78.

² Od., 10: 513-5.

³ See Buchholz, III. b, 317-8, for Homeric rivers.

⁴ S. El., 137-8; see Sep., 690, 855; Per., 669; et al. See Iwanowitsch, pp. 84-5, for refs.

⁵ Il., 8: 13-16. See Buchholz, I. a, 52.

⁶ Pro., 219-21.

⁷ Pro., 1028-9, et al.

⁸ O. C., 1389-90.

⁹ Or., 265. See Iwanowitsch, pp. 86-7, for refs.

¹⁰ Paus., 4: 33: 7; 10: 31: 9-11; et al. oft.

¹¹ Eum., 268-76; et al.

¹² A. Sup., 230-1, 415-6.

¹³ A. fr. 221.

¹⁴ Or., 982-5; H. M., 1298.

we have seen.¹ The best that Homer could do for ordinary people was to let their *εἰδωλα* wander over the gloomy asphodel meadows;² but by Plato's time, under the influence of Musaeus and his son, the just and pious were supposed to spend their time in pleasure, which the populace imagined to consist in feasting and drinking, ἡγησάμενοι κάλλιστον ἀρετῆς μισθὸν μέθην αἰώνιον.³ But no feasting scenes, otherwise than the simple offering of a basket of cakes or fruit,⁴ appear on Athenian tombstones until a late date, though on Spartan and Boeotian they are common. The Tragedians say nothing of feasting; rather, poetic tradition developed, out of the picture of the Elysian plain, "where life is easiest for men," and to which Menelaus and Helen were to be transported,⁵ the fancy of the "isle of the blessed."⁶

καὶ τῷ πλανήτῃ Μενέλεω θεῶν πάρα
ἑσπέρων κατοικεῖν νῆσόν ἐστι μόριμον.

Achilles was to be there, and Cadmus and Harmonia.⁷ Homer had placed it at the end of the earth and presumably in the west; but Euripides locates it, once at least,⁸

Λευκὴν κατ' ἀκτὴν ἐντὸς Εὐξείνου πόντου.

Farnell⁹ says there is a legend of the Chthonian Cronus ruling over the isles of the blest and the departed heroes. In the Orphic *Argonautica*¹⁰ there is said to be in the fabulous N. W. Europe, near the golden-flowing Acheron, a city Hermioneia, in which dwells γένη δικαιωμάτων ἀνθρώπων, οἷσιν ἀποφθιμένους ἀνεσις ναύλοιο τέτυκται.

¹ See above, pp. 28, 50.

² Od., 11: 539.

³ Pl. Rep., II, 363 cd.

⁴ Conze, Pl. 93; common on funeral vases. See also H. Von Fritz: Zu der Griech. Totenmahlreliefs, in Mittheil., 1896.

⁵ Od., 4: 563-7.

⁶ Hel., 1676-7.

⁷ And., 1260-2; Bac., 1338-9.

⁸ And., 1262; I. T., 436; see Bac., 1361-2.

⁹ Farnell: Gk. Cults, I, 30; see Hesiod: Works and Days, 169; Pindar, Ol., 2, 70. (I owe these references to the courtesy of Mr. Farnell.)

¹⁰ Lines 1135-47; see Rohde, p. 200, for further refs.

Homer calls Hades¹ πυλάρτας κρατερότο, and the country itself wide-gated.² The Tragedians often mention the gates of Hades,³ and as guardian of these, the dog. Sophocles calls him,⁴

τὸν θ' ἐπὶ χθονὸς
*Αἶδου τρίκρανον σκύλακ', ἀπρόσμαχον τέρας,

and describes him as couching at the gate of Hades,⁵ where Hermes is implored to keep him quiet. Admetus⁶ calls him ὁ Πλούτωνος κύων; and κύων he always is in Homer;⁷ whence Pausanias⁸ argues with much force that he was not originally a dog, but more probably a serpent, as κύων is a term for any fierce beast. In the vase paintings, especially the later ones, he appears frequently as a three-headed dog, and that type had probably become fixed before the Vth century. In the Tragedians he figures chiefly as the captive of Herakles in his famous visit to the underworld.⁹ On the tombstones we do not find the three-headed monster; and though a dog often appears,¹⁰ it is probably the pet of the household or the companion of the hunter, and not the savage guardian of the lower regions.

The only other dweller of the land of the dead whom Polygnotus introduces into his paintings is the horrid demon Eurynomus, who, according to Pausanias,¹¹ is not mentioned in the literature up to that time and may be an allegorical figure. But the Tragedians tell us that Erebus had other inhabitants. There dwelt Night,¹² whose anger even Zeus feared;¹³ and her daughters the Moirai;¹⁴ and those other daughters, the dread-

¹ *Od.*, 11: 277.

² *Med.*, 1234; *et al.*

³ *O. C.*, 1568-78.

⁴ See *Iwanowitsch*, pp. 103-5.

⁵ *H. M.*, 24-5; *et al.*

⁶ *Conze*, *Pl.* 23, 28, 130 (no. 677), *et al.* oft.

⁷ *Paus.*, 10: 28: 7.

⁸ *Il.*, 14: 259-61.

⁹ *Il.*, 23: 74.

¹⁰ *Trach.*, 1097-8.

¹¹ *Alc.*, 360.

¹² *Paus.*, 3: 25: 4-5.

¹³ *Or.*, 174-6.

¹⁴ *Farnell*: *G. C.*, I, 80-1.

ful Keres, of whom we hear so much in Homer,¹ and whom Megara pictures her sons as marrying,² and whom later Lyssa says Herakles is calling up by his bellowing.³ The Sirens, though not actually dwellers in the other world, are by Homer placed on the way thither;⁴ and from their frequent representations on tombstones from the VIth century down,⁵ and their office of carrying souls as depicted on the Harpy Tomb,⁶ they may have shared with Charon the duty of transporting the souls of the dead to Hades. Euripides mentions them as χθονὸς κόραι, and singers of mournful songs.⁷ Nemesis was another daemon closely connected with the dead, ready to resent any insulting word regarding them.⁸ The Sphinx was sent up from Hades,⁹ and had a fitting place on the tomb.¹⁰ Another uncomfortable neighbor was Iambe or Baubo, mentioned in the *Frogs*, whom M. Heuzey¹¹ supposes to be the antitype of "the numerous caricatures of old women and nurses found among the terra-cottas placed about the dead."

A more prominent figure is Hecate, who, though not mentioned in Homer, is one of the chief characters on the vases of the IVth century. Hesiod first mentions her as a victim of the anger of Artemis, whose follower and chthonian double she became; and Farnell¹² thinks she was of Phrygian origin and came into Athens about the middle of the VIth century. Before the Peloponnesian War, her image was placed at the doors of the Athenians to avert evil.¹³ She presided over graves, and her images stood at crossroads to keep ghosts down. "The character of Hecate κλειδοῦχος, the guardian of

¹ *Buchholz*, III, a, 318-21.

² *H. M.*, 870.

³ *Conze*, 35, 94, *et al.*

⁴ *Hel.*, 167-71.

⁵ *Phoen.*, 807-11.

⁶ Quoted by *F. Lenormant*, s. v. *Gephyrismoi*, in *Dar. et Sag.*, IV.

⁷ *Farnell*, II, 507 (quoting *Strabo*, 473), 508.

⁸ *H. M.*, 480-3.

⁹ *Od.*, 12: 39-46.

¹⁰ *Collignon*: *Hist. Sc. Gr.*, I, 261-5.

¹¹ *S. El.*, 792, 1467; see *Farnell*, II, 488-93.

¹² *Conze*, 97, 10, *et al.*

¹³ *Farnell*, II, p. 509.

the gate, is shown by the key which appears in the hands of many of her figures, and possibly this alludes not only to the gate of the house and the city but to the gate of hell, which she might be supposed to keep, as the key is known to have been also the badge of Hades.¹ In Caria there was an annual festival of the key in honor of Zeus and Hecate his wife.² Sophocles³ represents her with her head crowned with oak leaves and serpents. Alcamenes was the first to give her three heads and three bodies.⁴ To this triple Hecate living in the midst of infernal monsters, the whip is often given to maintain order among the shades.⁵

✓ In the Tragedians Hecate is confused with Artemis,⁶

ἰὼ πόρνα παῖ Λατοῖς Ἑκάτη,

and with Persephone,⁷

Εἰνέδης θύγατερ Δάμφορος.

She is the mistress of spells invoked by Medea⁸ and, ruling over journeys by day and night, the Chorus⁹ implore her to aid Creusa in poisoning Ion. She sends ghosts¹⁰ and madness;¹¹ and, as in the later vase-paintings, she carries the torch at the marriage of the soul to Hades.¹²

The only daemons whom Buchholz will admit into the circle of the chthonians with Hades and Persephone are the Erinyes.¹³ Aeschylus calls them daughters of Night¹⁴ and dwellers of Tartarus,¹⁵ but Sophocles calls them children of Earth and

¹ Farnell, II, 501-12, 556, 602.

² *Paus.*, 2: 30: 2; see Baummeister, I, p. 632.

³ *G. Fougères in Dar. et Sag.*, IV, p. 1156.

⁴ *Phoen.*, 109-10.

⁵ *Med.*, 395-7.

⁶ *Hel.*, 563-70; *Ant.*, 1197-1204.

⁷ *Tro.*, 323-4; *Mon. Ined.*, VI, Pl. 42 B; et al.

⁸ *Buchholz*, III, a, 345-51; III, b, 318.

⁹ *Eum.*, 321-2, et al.

¹⁰ *Ion*, 1048.

¹¹ *Ion*, 1048-51.

¹² *Hip.*, 142-4.

¹³ *Eum.*, 71-3, et al.

¹⁴ *S. fr.* 490.

Darkness,¹ ἦς τε καὶ Σάβω κέραι. Aeschylus is fond of using their name in connection with evil, as when he calls Helen an Erinyes of bridal lamentation,² or Tydeus, Ἐρινύος κληθήρα,³ the destruction of war he calls, πᾶσι τὸνδ' Ἐρινύων.⁴ They are called Ἄραι⁵ and Κῆρες⁶ and Ἀλδστύρι,⁷ and they seem to have partaken of the nature of all of these.⁸ They were black in color,⁹ αἰδανταὶ δ' Ἐρινύες, like ἀγῶται κύνες,¹⁰ angry dogs, and from their eyes distilled blood.¹¹ The Priestess of Delphi describes them;¹² "A wondrous troop of women sits sleeping in the seats, though not women but Gorgons I call them . . . wingless and black in appearance, abominable in kind. And they snore with unapproachable breath, and from their eyes they distil hateful violence. Their dress is fit to wear neither at the images of the gods nor in the dwellings of men." They are mad, and are woven about with crowding serpents.¹³ It is noticeable that though in the *Choëphorae* and the other plays they are visible to Orestes only, in the *Eumenides* they are visible to all, as is necessary from the nature of the play. In Sophocles they are many-handed and many-footed,¹⁴ and he speaks of the twin-fury,¹⁵ as though there were but two. Euripides says there are three;¹⁶ and his description differs a little from that of Aeschylus:¹⁷ "Do you not see this snake of Hades, that she wishes to slay me, with horrid vipers fringed against me? And breathing forth from her garments fire and murder, she beats with her wings, bearing my mother in her arms, a

¹ *O. C.*, 40, 106.

² *Sep.*, 574.

³ *Eum.*, 417.

⁴ *Or.*, 1546.

⁵ *Ag.*, 463-4; et al.

⁶ *Cho.*, 1058.

⁷ *Eum.*, 67; *Cho.*, 1048-50.

⁸ *S. El.*, 1080.

⁹ *J. T.*, 283-90; see *Or.*, 255-6; et al.

¹⁰ *Ag.*, 749.

¹¹ *Ag.*, 645, et al.

¹² *E. El.*, 1252; *O. T.*, 472.

¹³ See *Iwanowitch*, pp. 95-9, for epithets.

¹⁴ *Cho.*, 1054.

¹⁵ *Eum.*, 46-56.

¹⁶ *S. El.*, 488.

¹⁷ *Or.*, 408.

rocky mass, that she may throw it upon me!" The effect on their victim was what might be expected. Orestes has fits of madness, eats no food nor indulges in the bath; and though he has lucid intervals, in these he weeps and laments.¹ He could not have endured this torture long, if Apollo had not lent him arrows wherewith he might gain respite.²

We are most impressed with the function of the Erinyes to haunt a matricide, since this is the leading, or at least a prominent theme in no less than three plays, *Eumenides*, *Orestes* and *Iphigeneia in Tauris*; and comes as a climax into the *Choëphoroe* and Euripides' *Electra* (though not in Sophocles'); in all of which Orestes is tortured for a morally right action, since it is bidden by the purest of the gods, his natural instinct struggling against the divine command. Like angry dogs they follow him always,³ sucking his blood till he becomes a shadow,⁴ and threatening to take him alive to Hades and torture him there.⁵ They protest in the *Eumenides* that they punish only kindred blood,⁶ but in the *Choëphoroe* the blood of Aegisthus is a third draught for the Erinyes⁷ who avenges the stains on the house of Agamemnon.⁸ In the *Septem* they come at the curse of Oedipus to slay his sons;⁹ but none feel their presence as does the matricide Orestes. Otherwise they are good and kind,¹⁰ but fear of them keeps men from murder and evil-doing.¹¹

In Sophocles their mission is somewhat different. They do not fall on Orestes at all; but Clytaemnestra fears them,¹² and Electra implores them with the other chthonians to help her and her brother in their enterprise;¹³ and says that the slaying

¹ *Or.*, 34-45, et al.

² *Cho.*, 924; *Eum.*, 75-7; et al.

³ *Eum.*, 267-8.

⁴ *Cho.*, 577-8.

⁵ *Sept.*, 720-5, et al.

⁶ *Eum.*, 494-524.

⁷ *Or.*, 268-70.

⁸ *Eum.*, 264-5, 302, 305.

⁹ *Eum.*, 210, 604-5.

¹⁰ *Cho.*, 651; et al. oft.

¹¹ *Eum.*, 313-5, 895; *Sept.*, 699-701.

¹² *S. El.*, 275-6.

¹³ *S. El.*, 110-7; et al.

of Aegisthus will destroy the twin-fury,¹ as if the sacrifice of the really guilty man would stay their anger. Oedipus invokes the Erinyes to carry out his curses on his sons² for their harsh treatment of him. But outrage on the dead as well as unjust death claimed their attention, as is shown by the threat³ to Creon and to the enemies of Aias, as well as those to the slayers of Laius and Herakles.

In Euripides, again, though the Erinyes are not limited to the chastisement of kindred slaughter,⁴ we have the tortures of the matricide Orestes with added detail. In the *Choëphoroe*, the Erinyes sieze him immediately, but in the *Orestes*,⁵ they do not come upon him until at night when he is watching beside his mother's body. In the *Eumenides*, Athene by her judgment and her persuasions frees him; but in Euripides she drives them away with her Gorgon-headed shield,⁶ and instead of departing satisfied and with blessings, they rush in terror into the chasm,⁷ and do not all acquiesce in Athene's decision.⁸

It is Sophocles who draws the picture of the Grove of the Eumenides, one of the finest bits of natural scenery in the Tragedians. Here among the bay, the olive and the vine, the nightingales sing sweetly, undisturbed by human sound, and a limpid stream flows through the untrodden grass.⁹ Expiation for entering their grove must be made by pouring a triple libation of spring water and honey from a cup wreathed with fresh-shorn lamb's wool; thrice nine branches of olive must be laid on the place; and after a prayer calling them Eumenides and spoken inaudibly, the trespasser must slip away without looking back.¹⁰

¹ *S. El.*, 1080.

² *O. C.*, 1391, 1433-4.

³ *Ant.*, 1074-6; *Ai.*, 835-44; *O. T.*, 471-2; *Trach.*, 808-9.

⁴ *Med.*, 1389; *E. El.*, 1546-8.

⁵ *Or.*, 401-2, 408.

⁶ *E. El.*, 1252-7.

⁷ *E. El.*, 1270-2.

⁸ *I. T.*, 970-1; see 940-86.

⁹ *O. C.*, 16-8, 124-32, 155-60.

¹⁰ *O. C.*, 466-90.

The Eumenides had a regular cult at Athens, sharing in the worship of Athene in the abode of Erechtheus, receiving the first fruits of the sacrifices, honored with blazing torches, with processions of youths and women in purple robes, with burnt-offerings and songs and libations.¹ And in the statues which the Athenians erected of them there was nothing horrible.² They were worshiped also at the hearth of the home with wineless soothing libations.³

✓ The idea of death was never absent from the mind of the Greek. Turn where he would, engage in what occupation or pleasure or duty he saw fit, the eyes of the dead and of the mighty gods of the dead were upon him. Sacrifices and prayers to the deities of high heaven might be slighted or omitted, but those to the *χθονιοι* never. Their power arose from the ground on which he trod, and penetrated even to his dreams and to his most secret plans; it dogged every step of his life, and extended into the remotest future. The Olympians were a gay and joyous folk, content that mankind should be reasonably happy and prosperous, since this was to their interest; and however vindictive they might be, their vengeance of necessity stopped with the dissolution of soul from body. But they of the lower world were ever envious and grudging against him who enjoyed the blessings they had lost, regarding him with a vigilance unforgetting, unrelenting and unremitting, not to be put off with excuses or appeased with paltry offerings. Man, the living man, owed them a heavy rent for the brief lease of his tenement, and they exacted payment to the uttermost farthing. What wonder that Plato's teaching fell on charmed but unbelieving ears; that Stoics and Epicureans alike, finding the burden too great to be borne, declared there is no hereafter; that the populace seized upon every new orgy, and welcomed every foreign god of the dead,

¹ *Eum.*, 804-7, 833-6, 854-7, 1022 ff., 1033-47.

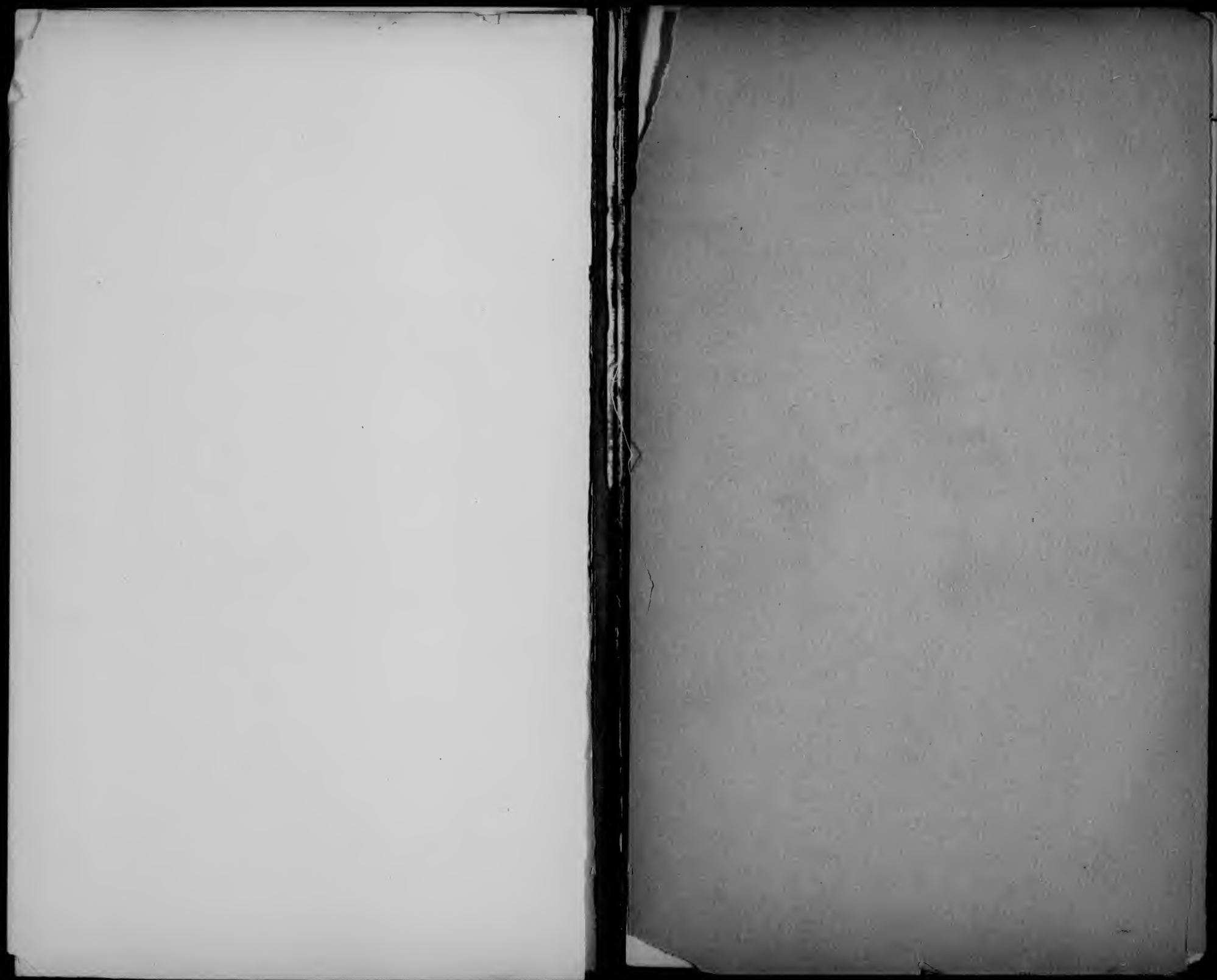
² *Paus.*, 1: 28: 6.

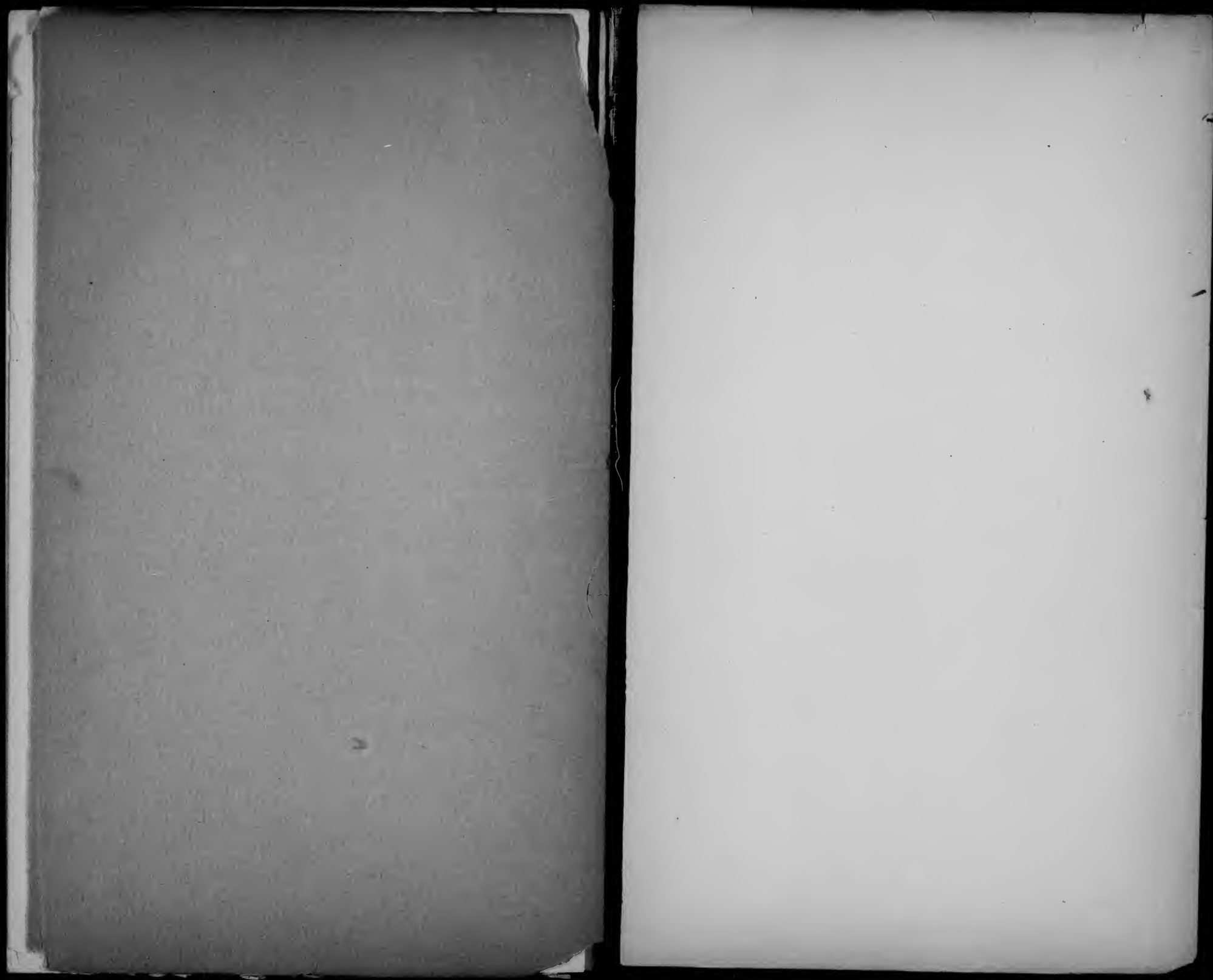
³ *Eum.*, 106-9.

like the mystic Dionysus or the solemn deep-eyed Serapis; or that of all the gods, most popular by far was Asklepios the healer; for he prolonged man's little span of life and for a brief moment held back the curtain which must envelop him. ✓ Rightly was the disembodied soul named *σκιά*, for it was the shadow which the Greek could never elude or escape.

VITA

Lucia Catherine Graeme Grieve was born of Scotch parents in Dublin, Ireland, April 30, 1862. Her early education was received in Mrs. J. T. Benedict's French and English School in New York city. In 1878 she entered Wellesley College in the Academic Department, and in 1883 received the A. B. degree. For the next ten years she was engaged in teaching in preparatory schools and colleges. In 1893 she received the A. M. degree from Wellesley College for work in Greek and Roman Philosophy. From 1893 till 1898 she was a student in Columbia University, her subjects being Greek, Sanskrit and Hebrew, under the direction of Professors Merriam, Perry and Wheeler, Jackson and Gottheil. The summer of 1894 was spent in the British Museum in the study of the Greek Vases, under the general guidance of Prof. A. C. Merriam. During the year 1896-7, she attended courses in Oxford University, England, given by Prof. Percy Gardner, Mr. Haigh, Mr. Sidgwick, Prof. Macdonnell, and Canon Driver.





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